REPORT RESUMES

ED 013 031 FL 000 491

FOREIGN LANGUAGES IN PRIMARY EDUCATION, CONFERENCE ON THE TEACHING OF FOREIGN OR SECOND LANGUAGES TO YOUNGER CHILDREN (HAMBURG, APRIL 9-14, 1962).

BY- STERN, H.H.

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL SCIENTIFIC AND CULT.ORG

PUB DATE 63

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.50 HC-$4.04 101P.

DESCRIPTORS- *SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING, *CURRICULUM PROBLEMS, *EXPERIMENTAL PROGRAMS, *FLES PROGRAMS, *RESEARCH PROBLEMS, BILINGUALISM, CONFERENCE REPORTS, COURSE ORGANIZATION, FLES TEACHERS, ELEMENTARY SCHOOL STUDENTS,

THIS REPORT OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF LANGUAGE TEACHING EXPERTS HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE UNESCO INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION IN HAMBURG, GERMANY, APRIL 9-14, 1962, REVIEWS THE WHOLE PROBLEM OF SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING AT THE PRIMARY STAGE OF EDUCATION, AND IDENTIFIES THE PERTINENT, RELATED FIELDS IN NEED OF FURTHER RESEARCH. FOLLOWING A BRIEF DISCUSSION OF ARGUMENTS FOR EARLY SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING, IT SURVEYS EXTENSIVELY THE RESULTS OF PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE AND PHYSIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHO-EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH THAT STRENGTHEN THE ARGUMENT FOR AN EARLY START. IN THE FINAL SECTION OF GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS FOR INTRODUCING A LANGUAGE IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS, ARE DISCUSSIONS OF SUCH PROBLEMS AS POLICY AND PLANNING NEEDS, TEACHER AND STUDENT REQUIREMENTS, AND COURSE CONTENT, METHODOLOGY, MATERIALS, CONTINUITY, AND COST. ALSO NOTED THERE, FOR THOSE UNDERTAKING RESEARCH, ARE THE CONSIDERATION OF VARIABLES IN LEARNING SITUATIONS, THE NEED FOR THEORETICAL BACKGROUND FROM RELATED DISCIPLINES, AND A LIST OF SPECIFIC PROBLEMS. THE FOUR APPENDIXES THAT PRECEDE AN EXTENSIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY CONTAIN A LIST OF PARTICIPANTS, A SUMMARY OF PRIMARY SCHOOL LANGUAGE TEACHING, A CASE STUDY OF BILINGUALISM, AND NOTES ON DOCUMENTATION AND REPORTS. THIS DOCUMENT IS AVAILABLE FOR $2.50 FROM THE UNESCO PUBLICATIONS CENTER, 317 EAST 34 STREET, NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK, 10016. (AB)

international studies in education

ED013031

FOREIGN LANGUAGES IN PRIMARY EDUCATION

The Teaching of Foreign or Second Languages to Younger Children

Report on an
International Meeting of Experts
9-14 April, 1962,
presented by
H. H. STERN

FL 000 491

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

1963
unesco institute for education, hamburg

international studies in education

FOREIGN LANGUAGES IN PRIMARY EDUCATION

The Teaching of Foreign or Second Languages to Younger Children

Report on an
International Meeting of Experts
9-14 April, 1962,
presented by
H. H. STERN

1963
unesco institute for education, hamburg

CONTENTS

chapter page

Preface 5

Introduction 7

PART I

Arguments for Early Second Language Learning

1 Historical perspective 11

2 Social, political and economic aspects 13

3 The educational aspect 15

4 Psychological aspects: (I) Bilingualism 17

5 Psychological aspects: (II) Language development 21

6 Neurological aspects 27

PART II

Experiences and Experiments

7 Survey of second language teaching at the primary stage 29

8 The second language as a lingua franca of education 31

9 Second languages in bilingual or multilingual communities:
A policy of bilingualism in Wales 34

10 Second language teaching policy in smaller linguistic communities 38

11 English without a book: A Swedish experiment 41

12 Early language teaching in the U.S.A. 44

13 Experiments in France 48

14 Experiments in the Federal Republic of Germany 50

15 Experiments in the United Kingdom: England 51

16 Experiments in Argentina 54

17 Language teaching experiments in Soviet nursery schools 55

18 International, bilingual and multilingual schools 57

PART III

Recommendations for Practice and Research

19 Introducing a language in the primary school 63

20 Research problems concerning the teaching of foreign or second languages
to younger children 72

Summary and Conclusion 81

Appendices

1. List of participants 84

2. A summary of foreign or second language teaching in primary education 86

3. Acquiring a second language in Brussels: a case-study in bilingualism 91

4. Notes on documentation 94

Bibliography 97

PREFACE

As will be explained in the introduction to the present report, the Hamburg Conference on the Teaching of Foreign or Second Languages to Younger Children proposed to deal with "all that is often called L 2 learning" at an early age, whether the acquisition of a second language represents a vital requirement for purposes of communication and instruction or whether an early start is advocated and experimented with as an improvement in the methods of foreign language teaching.

A variety of reasons, it is true, may account for the importance attributed in our time to the learning of at least one foreign language. In some countries, especially those constituting newly established states, a second language often serves as the only common medium of communication and instruction, in others second language learning is important because there are two or more official languages. In a third group of countries the acquisition of a foreign language is necessary in order to maintain cultural, economic and other contacts with the outside world. This last consideration is probably true even for countries whose national language can be regarded as a world language.

However, if we look for a common motive behind these, in many respects, different phenomena, we shall find that it is the need for a wider range of communication that is common to them all. To say nothing of the many international and intergovernmental combinations and organizations all over the world whose functions extend far beyond occasional contacts of representatives and emissaries.

But, one may ask, even if the growing need to teach a second language to a growing number of persons cannot be denied, why start with the young and even the very young? We would hardly be mistaken in assuming that the wave of practical experiments with these age groups, of budding research and of growing official encouragement is in direct response to the new socio-political situation described above. As long as a foreign language was considered a social accomplishment of the few or a special need for certain specialized callings, elementary public education did not have to bother.

Still, it hardly needs to be stressed that many of the experiments and deliberations on early foreign language teaching originate with the quest of teachers and psychologists for improvement of methods and instruments in their field.

Although the conference, the work of which is reported upon in the following pages, was in the first instance called to assess the present state of established and experimental practice and to identify fields of necessary further research, it may be said that its members were bold enough to indicate, at least tentatively, results of practical experience and physiological and psycho-educational research which seem to strengthen the argument for an early start. We believe that, in this respect, the consequences of current physiological research findings mentioned in chapter 6 deserve serious consideration. Similarly, what is known of children's capacity for assimilating additional linguistic structures might encourage us in the same direction. Again, conference participants with practical experience in language teaching to children under ten offered a number of recommendations for this work the acceptance of which, to their mind, would make such teaching practicable and indeed educationally valuable for all children. (Chapter 19)

While significant indications in favour of an early introduction of a second language must thus not be overlooked, one cannot stress strongly enough the need for further research on the psychological processes in second language learning at various age levels, on the relative weight of such factors as aptitude, emotional attitudes, economic and other motivation, as well as on the relevant neurological aspects of the question, before any definite recommendations can be made.

In this latter context we are indebted to Professor J. B. Carroll for his chapter on "Research Needs". I am also glad to have this opportunity to express my thanks to all those whose papers have contributed valuable material to this study, especially to Professor Jac. L. Williams for his account of bilingualism in Wales and to Professor T. Andersson for his notes on the FLES movement in the USA, also to Mme Legrand-Stijns who acted ably as recorder of the day-to-day proceedings of the conference, and contributed a paper which illustrates the impact of bilingualism on the life history of one person (for a digest of her paper see appendix 3).

Our gratitude is also due to UNESCO, and particularly to M. Albert Legrand, Unesco programme specialist for modern languages, for his share in preparing our conference, and to Professor Renzo Titone for serving as its Chairman during part of its deliberations.

Moreover, it is really as the joint work of all conference participants — listed on page 84-5 — that this report should be regarded. Our thanks go to all of them, and especially to our former colleague, Dr. H. H. Stern, now back at his post as Lecturer in Education at the University of Hull, who has not only served as secretary to the conference in its various phases but has also written the present report in a manner as thorough as it is competent.

S. B. Robinsohn
Director
Unesco Institute for Education

INTRODUCTION[1]

The early start

Present-day world developments have given rise to a renewed and increased interest in the teaching of foreign or second languages. Learning another language is no longer regarded as a privilege and a luxury available only for selected groups of children who go to school beyond the period of compulsory education. Instead, it is widely held today that foreign language learning should be part of the education of every child, even if he receives only the minimum of compulsory schooling. If this is so, an early start in a foreign or second language will be imperative in many parts of the world for at least two reasons. For one, as the **Unesco World Survey of Education** clearly shows, in a large number of countries children are not in school long enough to allow delay.[2] For another, the foreign language is often needed at once as the medium of school instruction. In all these cases there is little choice; a start in the primary school is a necessity. What remains is a question of method: what are the best ways of teaching a foreign language to younger children? However, even in those countries where this necessity does not arise, the early start is often recommended as one that offers educational advantages. In language teaching the search for good methods has gone on for a long time. But in spite of improved textbooks, better training of teachers and the use of audio-visual aids, many deficiencies persist. In this situation it is tempting to think that, if children could begin to learn a foreign language much earlier than is customary in most educational systems – in more or less the same way as they learn their native tongue – much more would be achieved. **Hence, it is advocated today in many quarters that foreign language learning should start well before the teens, in the primary school years, or even in the kindergarten.** The possibility of breaking through the language barrier in this way has aroused widespread interest among those who determine educational policy as well as among many teachers and parents. Experiments in the teaching of languages to younger children have been begun with much enthusiasm in a number of countries. First impressions of results are favourable.

Yet, there are sceptics and it must be admitted that arguments can be advanced both for and against starting languages at different stages of life. At the present time we cannot give an authoritative and unequivocal answer to the question of the optimum stage at which to introduce a second language into schooling for effective learning. The answer to this question, however, will be of considerable importance wherever, and for whatever reasons, languages are already taught or are to be introduced into primary education.

Unesco's part

The interest of Unesco in the question of teaching modern languages in the primary school is largely due to the initiative of the late Felix Walter, Unesco programme specialist for modern languages, who included it in his plans for the part of the Unesco programme for which he was responsible in the following terms:

> "The question, though not completely new in some countries, is genuinely contemporary. It is the language teaching problem in the world today, whether in Asian and African countries that have to struggle with local vernaculars, new national languages and foreign languages of wide communication at the same time, or in Europe or North America where language needs can be more selective. Briefly put this question is, should foreign language instruction begin much earlier than it does now in most educational systems? If so, when and how should it be carried out? This problem first came to the attention of Unesco at the time of the Nuwara Eliya Seminar (August 1953) whose Director was a leading figure in the United States in the movement known as FLES (Foreign Languages in the Elementary School). This particular movement continued to spread in the United States, and so did a parallel movement in the United Kingdom; but for a number of years it seemed as if the natural conservation of continental European school

---

[1] For details to references see **Bibliographical Index** pp. 97 seq.

[2] See on this point **World Survey of Education II: Primary Education** (Unesco 1958): "Quantitatively . . . the importance of primary education is obvious: the enrolment of pupils at this level makes up from 60 to 90 per cent of the total school enrolment in various countries, and even 100 per cent in a number of territories."

> systems would prove an insurmountable barrier to all attempts at changes in this direction. In many countries foreign language instruction has always begun at age 11 or 12, so that must be the right age.
>
> "Then Swiss schools started experimenting. Then the Soviet Ministry of Education decreed that, in a significant proportion of schools throughout the Soviet Union, the first foreign language should be taught at age 9. The subject was debated at length, though rather inconclusively, by the Advisory Committee on the School Curriculum at its third session (September–October 1958). In February 1959 the French National Commission wrote strongly urging that the whole question be investigated by Unesco . . ." (Unesco, c. p.)[3]

As the result of Felix Walter's effort and that of his successor, Albert Legrand, Unesco asked the Unesco Institute for Education, Hamburg, to convene, with financial help from Unesco, a small meeting of experts "to plan a long-term programme of investigations into the psychological and pedagogical aspects of the problem of teaching foreign languages in the primary stage."

The Hamburg meeting

The Unesco Institute saw its task as one of stock-taking and of planning a programme of research. An expert meeting was called to Hamburg to review the whole problem of teaching foreign or second languages at the primary stage of education, with special emphasis on the teaching of languages to younger children, by considering the following main questions:

(1) What evidence is there to justify the recommendation that foreign or second language learning should be started at the latest in the course of the first few years of compulsory schooling, and in any case well before the teens?

(2) What experience has been gathered and what experiments have been carried out in different countries in the teaching of languages to younger children? What methods and teaching materials have been developed? What results have been attained?

(3) What are the main problems which need further examination? What investigations in connection with the teaching of foreign languages in the early years of schooling are now required?

The meeting which was held from the 9th to the 14th April 1962 was attended by some twenty participants, including nationals from Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, India, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Morocco, U.K., U.S.A., and U.S.S.R.[4]. They represented such diverse disciplines as language teaching, linguistics, primary education, educational psychology, neurophysiology and comparative education. The conference was assisted by a great wealth of documentation received from more than twenty countries and an exhibition of publications and materials including tapes, filmstrips and records.

The present study is the outcome of this meeting. It is based on its findings and on reports, documents and correspondence received during the period of preparation for the meeting and for some time after it. In writing the report the author has been aware of his debt to all those whose work has contributed to it. Acknowledgements have been made in the text whenever a paper prepared for the meeting has been quoted verbatim, has been abstracted or modified so as to fit into the framework of this report. Particulars of many conference papers have been included in the list of references.[5]

So far as possible the study represents the consensus of views which emerged from the Hamburg conference and the documentation. The compilation of a document of this kind, however, involves interpretation of many data. The responsibility for the accuracy of the data and for a fair interpretation of the different points of view must therefore rest with the author of this report.

PART I deals with the more theoretical aspects of the problem in answer to the first of the three questions above, it is based on the report of the first of three conference groups, the "Theory" group. PART II which surveys experiments and current practices is mainly based on reports received. The first chapter in PART III (chapter 19) incorporates the work of the second group, "Practice", which had as its task the evaluation of current experiences and the preparation of practical suggestions. Chapter 20 in PART III, contributed by Professor J. B. Carroll, incorporates the work of the third group which was invited to review the research requirements of the problem of language teaching and learning at the primary stage.

---

[3] c. p. = conference paper. For details see footnote 5 below.

[4] For a list of the participants, see Appendix 1.

[5] These conference papers are referred to in the text by the author's name who has contributed the paper or note, followed by the abbreviation "c. p." (= conference paper).

Definitions

As the terms 'primary education' and 'foreign or second language' are open to misunderstandings, the following explanations are offered to clarify their use in this report.

Primary education has different meanings in different educational systems. They fall however into two large groups:

1) primary education as the minimum compulsory full-time schooling. In that sense it is often also referred to as **elementary education.**
2) primary education as one of the early phases of the educational process. Primary in that sense is **the education of younger children.**

The conference was mainly concerned with primary in the sense of the second of these two definitions. It gave its main attention to the teaching and learning of languages with reference to younger children, pupils aged ten and below, i. e. in the first stages of systematic education at the nursery school, the kindergarten and in the first grades of compulsory schooling.

Foreign or second languages. The attention of the meeting was not confined to languages spoken outside the national boundary. All that is often called 'L2 learning' was included. (Catford, 1959) For example in Indonesia the national language (Bahas Indonesia) is a second language (L2), because it is different from the vernaculars (L1's). In the report the terms 'L2', 'second language' or 'foreign language' are employed as more or less synonymous.[6]

---

[6] For a detailed discussion of the distinction between L1 and L2 see Chapter 20 below, in particular pp. 72 seq.

PART I

ARGUMENTS FOR EARLY SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING

Chapter 1

Historical perspective

The conventional age for language learning

Today there is widespread enthusiasm for early language learning. A start in the primary school is hailed in some quarters as an educational innovation of tremendous significance. It is, therefore, salutary to remind ourselves that in developed countries with long-standing educational traditions and an education-conscious middle or upper class there have been many old-established practices of early language learning. The well-to-do often engaged a foreign governess, 'Miss', 'Fräulein', or 'Mademoiselle', and in the private schools of many countries even today (e. g. in Argentina, England, Italy or the Netherlands) a foreign language is taught from the very early years of schooling – and this not as a novel experiment, but as an accepted educational practice, which may go back centuries. However, the results of this early foreign language learning were not impressive, and progressive educational thought tended to look upon this practice as an unnecessary burden for young children.

> For example, in the Netherlands French had been the language of the Court and of the higher social classes up to the beginning of the nineteenth century and even today a knowledge of French is considered a token of culture and social standing. Since the seventeenth century there were besides the 'Latin schools' which prepared for the university, 'French schools' for the leading people in commerce and industry. That may explain why, when in 1863 secondary education was organized by law, one of the requirements for admission was a previous knowledge of French. But as early as 1876 a committee had insisted on the necessity of dropping French as a requirement for admission to secondary schools: the time for it had better be devoted to essential primary school subjects; especially the mother-tongue needed more time and attention; it was thought that a better knowledge of Dutch would be a help to the study of foreign languages. Moreover the specialist teachers in secondary schools were not satisfied with the way French was taught in the primary schools; they criticized the methods and complained of the bad pronunciation pupils had acquired.
>
> In 1920 a new law led to the abolition of a knowledge of French as a condition of admission to secondary school; the Minister responsible for this measure declared that the primary school must no longer be "corrupted by the demands of other institutions". (Van Willigen, c. p.)

In general, it may be said that for language learning in the developed countries of the West the starting age was hardly determined by psychological or pedagogical considerations, but by the usual age of entry into the secondary school and, even today, varies from about nine to fourteen. It is as a result of this educational development that in most countries with a European-type educational system the pre-adolescent years (ten to twelve) have become accepted as the right stage for beginning to learn a second language.

In many countries of Asia and Africa, on the other hand, a second language is often started quite early in the school career, i. e. within the first or second year after school entry. However, this practice is not based on a concern for the optimum age of language learning either, but has resulted from the necessity of establishing quickly a common medium of instruction.

The demand for an early start

Although in the first half of the present century there had been a continuous debate about language teaching the discussion centred mainly on the improvement of methods of teaching. The pattern of schooling was taken for granted and, therefore, the stage of education at which languages could most profitably be introduced was hardly a subject for discussion. A few American researches seemed to point to the possibility of successful language learning in adult years (e. g. Henmon, 1934), strengthened later by wartime successes in intensive language courses offered by the armed forces to U.S. servicemen.

The demand that the language problem should be tackled by early teaching of a second language has occurred to any significant degree only since the end of the war. It is hard to say exactly when, how, and where it was first voiced. It seems that in the postwar climate of opinion there were a number of factors which caused this demand to appear in several places more or less simultaneously.

To some extent it is probably due to the fact that since the war the language learning problem has increased in magnitude. More languages have to be learnt by more people. With the rapid extension of education in advanced and developing countries alike more children have to cross one language barrier or another. The problem of language teaching which until the war had been – in advanced countries at least – the preserve of the secondary school (grammar school, lycée or Gymnasium) with its graduate teachers or Neuphilologen, was now looked at by politicians, sociologists, psychologists, linguists and even neurophysiologists, who were all less concerned than the schoolmasters with the established traditions of existing school systems. Consequently they did not regard the starting of languages at the beginning of the secondary cycle as sacrosanct.

In addition the postwar approach to international tensions has laid much stress on the causes of nationalism, aggressiveness, and prejudice in the minds of children. An international outlook came to be regarded not as something that can be grafted on a prejudiced adult mind. It must grow and must be fostered from infancy. This was seen partly as a question of furthering mental health (Wall, 1955), but partly also as a matter of contacts, exchanges, travel and study in other countries – and also the learning of languages. Everywhere in these attempts the language barrier seemed to be the one major obstacle that prevented a thoroughgoing internationalism. Looked at in this light, an early acquaintance with other countries and their languages became an essential of the most basic education everywhere.

The conventional prewar approach of language teaching to the young adolescent in the secondary school – however skilful, modern and successful it may have been in its restricted sphere – seemed inadequate to this task of large-scale linguistic interpenetration. Against this insufficiency of accepted practices stands the obvious commonsense observation of the bilingual situation: this demonstrates that it is possible for whole populations, including the less intelligent, to acquire two or more languages, almost without effort, provided they grow up for a sufficient time in a multilingual milieu. Moreover if we add the other well-known assumption that the child has an amazing capacity for learning his first language we are quickly led to the conclusion that by creating a bilingual milieu from an early phase of education it should be possible to overcome the language barrier in a way that is really effective on a large scale.

While for some this seemed to be the only way out of the language impasse it was considered by others, as recently as in the early fifties, with scepticism, as a cranky notion, or, more politely, as a controversial subject, and as such it was treated at the Unesco International Seminar on the Teaching of Modern Languages in Ceylon in 1953.[1])

However, support came from child psychology and neurophysiology (Penfield, 1953; Modern Language Association of America, 1956). The FLES experiments in America spread (Mildenberger, 1962) and other countries reported similar experiences, so that in the present decade the teaching and learning of languages by young children in schools from kindergarten age onwards presents itself in all seriousness as a practical educational proposition. The topic is still controversial. It raises questions in the minds of parents, educators and administrators. The Hamburg conference was called to examine the evidence and to recommend action and research.

---

1) See Professor Theodore Andersson's paper on "Modern Language Teaching in Primary Schools" presented at the Nuwara Eliya Seminar (Unesco, 1955, p. 181 seq.). See also p. 7 above.

Chapter 2

Social, political and economic aspects

It is perhaps hard for a teacher or administrator working within the traditions and limits of one educational system or for a parent primarily concerned with his own child's progress to view an educational question such as the one under discussion not only in the light of his own experience in his own country but to bear in mind the many varied social, political and economic factors that are relevant to it in different parts of the world. Yet this is what an international study of this question must necessarily attempt to do.

We face today everywhere in the world the need for a thorough-going bilingualism – or even multilingualism – fostered through education. This is not a linguist's dream. Linguists and language teachers are themselves among the greatest sceptics concerning this demand; and indeed its execution presents formidable problems. The demand arises largely from the social, political and economic conditions in which the countries of the world find themselves in the present century. We can distinguish four different principal situations. The common element is that besides the local or national language all the communities in question require the command of at least one other language.

(1) In some countries or regions in which two or several languages or dialects are spoken a second language is needed as a lingua franca which will serve as a common medium of communication or instruction, e. g. Hindi and English in India, Russian in the USSR, English or French in parts of Africa, or Bahas Indonesia in Indonesia.

By way of more detailed illustration there is a definite need for the teaching of a world-wide second language in a country such as Nigeria. Nigeria is a rapidly developing country which is split into three large language groups according to region – Hausa, Yoruba, Ino. These regions themselves are split into many other small groups. One language – widely used throughout the country — is a very unifying factor in a country which so easily could be divided and split by regional or tribal feelings.

This together with the fact that Nigeria needs to establish and build up both cultural and economic contacts with the Commonwealth and the rest of the world, seems to be one of the most important reasons for introducing English as a second language in the primary school. English is, of course, also the language of higher education and therefore almost indispensable. (Bradley, c. p.)

(2) In another group of countries second language learning is important because there are two or more official languages, e. g. in Canada, Ceylon, Belgium, Finland, Switzerland, and Wales.

(3) The third group of countries is perhaps the largest. It contains all those in which the national language is not a language of wide distribution. The languages spoken in these countries are vernaculars, admirable and adequate for local use, but inadequate "for present day politics, and commerce, inadequate also for living a full twentieth-century cultural life." (Williams, 1962). The acquisition of a second language is a necessity if cultural, economic and other contacts with the outside world are to be maintained.

According to Williams (1962) only six of more than 3,000 languages in the world are spoken by more than 100,000,000 people. Two other languages approach this figure. Of these eight languages only five can be regarded as languages of international significance. The remainder are vernaculars in the sense explained above.

(4) Finally, there are those countries where the national language is one of the world languages, e. g. English in the USA or Russian in the USSR, but here for political, cultural, economic or other reasons, the teaching of foreign languages is considered a necessary part of education.

There are other, special situations in which the need for a second language has to be faced. (a) Through migration there are in many parts of the world minority and immigrant groups, e. g.

Puerto Ricans in New York, Pakistanis and Italians in Great Britain, Asian or European immigrants in Africa or Australia. The linguistic and social difficulties of the children belonging to such groups require skilful and sympathetic handling as soon as these children enter school or even before (Roucek, 1962). (b) In countries in which the national language is to be developed or strengthened through education (e. g. Irish in Ireland, Hebrew in Israel, or Welsh in Wales) the school system has to face a difficult bilingual problem of a special kind.

The choice of the second language and the urgency that is to be attributed to one or several other languages can only be determined by each country or community. In all cases it is a question which requires most careful consideration; for the massive introduction of a second language into the basic education of all children is a major decision which cannot be taken lightly. Political, economic, social, cultural, historical, geographical and other factors must be taken into account in determining any second language policy and particularly so when it is the question of introducing the language into the primary cycle of education. In some countries the major educational problem is still quite simply to give a minimum literacy to as many of its citizens as possible. Under such circumstances the introduction of a second language may appear an impossibility or even a 'luxury'. Again there will be practical difficulties of all kinds; for example in most countries finding a sufficient number of competent teachers will be a limiting factor.

Yet the broader conclusions and long-term objectives are universal. Bilingualism, it has been said, "may be almost as essential as literacy". In the modern world a society with more than one language is more viable. Language has been one of the great integrating factors producing group structure. Through multilingualism the development of larger groups with higher social mobility becomes possible. Through the operation of at least two languages within a society different culture patterns cross-fertilize each other. The economic advantages hardly need mentioning. The development of new commercial ties between countries and the disappearance of isolated economies make it more urgent for many peoples to speak each other's languages.

Stressing the value of second languages should, however, not be misinterpreted as an invitation to neglect the first. Since the nineteenth century schools have developed patterns of fostering national or local culture through the study of the native language and, where applicable, literature in the vernacular, accompanied by local, historical and geographical studies. The local or national languages will and should remain one of the foundations of education, so long as they are not made a vehicle of aggressive nationalism of the kind that so frequently marred this part of education until recent decades.[1] But the education centring round the vernacular must be matched by an international component which helps communities to cross barriers of language and national or local culture and tradition in a much more thorough-going way than traditional language teaching has permitted.

---

[1] "It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue." (Unesco, 1953).

Chapter 3

The educational aspect

The adults of today – it must be admitted – who, as children, have passed through a school system, are all, more or less the products of much more ethnocentrically organized school curricula than they like to believe. The whole emphasis on in-group traditions and values, transmitted through the time and effort spent at school on 'our' language, 'our' land, 'our' glorious past and 'our' poets, sets 'us' off against 'others' and implicitly – re-inforced of course by outside influences – teaches the strangeness and fundamental alienness, perhaps inferiority, of the 'others' within our country or beyond its boundaries. The cultivation of our own language and civilization, coupled with the relative neglect of the language and country of the others, tends to make popular education one-sided and ethnocentric down to its roots, even when quite unaccompanied by the more blatant forms of national self-advertising.

That a radical re-adjustment in national educational systems is needed, a toning down of the in-group values and a more intimate knowledge and appreciation of the out-group, is now widely recognized and much spadework has already been done, for example, in the teaching of history and the production of textbooks, in order to break down prejudice, to eliminate distortions and to overcome hostility and aggressiveness. But of the factors that create the most profound in-group insulation the linguistic one is perhaps the most powerful. Without overcoming it at least once in the course of growing up, the world of the others remains a closed book and the individual is left in this respect in an egocentric phase of development – in the Piagetian sense of the word. The other fellow beyond the mountain never becomes quite real.

The educational consequence is clear. The learning of a second language must be regarded as a necessary part of total personality formation in the modern world, since it should enable a person to live and move freely in more than one culture and free him from the limitations imposed by belonging to, and being educated within, a single cultural group and a single linguistic community. It is an essential not only from the point of view of society, but also for the individual himself and his personal education.

Somehow, therefore, a second language must become part of the total educational process, not something reserved for the gifted, but a normal educational experience for the ordinary child. This is not to be thought of as a tinkering, or a nodding acquaintance with a few everyday phrases and songs, reserving a thorough knowledge for a brighter élite. A superficial and insecure acquaintance with a second language may simply aggravate the sense of remoteness and isolation when faced with another country and its language.

The broad aim should be to give each child a new means of communication. If in the past reading and writing the native tongue have been regarded as the basic content of primary linguistic education it is now claimed that speaking another language must in the twentieth century be added to these requirements. The precise determination of aims would in individual cases depend on various conditions – social, political, economic, cultural – and the degree of urgency with which the problem is viewed. There are various types and degrees of bilingual competence which are fairly clearly defined now[1]) and which can serve as points of orientation under given conditions.

Whatever the level of competence aimed at, making a second language part of the educational process of every child means that it cannot be done hurriedly. Linguistic habits take time to grow. One of the most cogent arguments for starting a language in the early stages of the primary school is that practice can be planned over a period of years. If it is arranged as a long series of progressive skills arranged according to the best available methodological experience it should lead to a command of the language which will later be taken for granted in the same way as today it is regarded as a matter of course that the ordinary adult can read, write and handle simple number problems.

Against this it is argued that the primary school curriculum is already overcrowded. But the

---

1) See p. 18 below.

amount of time envisaged per day or week, devoted to the language specifically, is quite limited, e. g. 15 to 30 minutes a day. This still of course amounts to a considerable time expenditure over years which has to be set against other claims on the time available. But it can be argued that time spent on language learning in the early years of education is time saved in later years for other activities. Thus, to some extent, what is really envisaged is a redistribution of the time over the whole basic educational process. For instance, in the teaching of arithmetic at primary school level there has been much criticism of the inordinate amount of time spent on routine drill; a later introduction of certain operations may well make much of the drill less time-consuming and more insightful. On the other hand for language learning the less analytical approach of younger children may well be an advantage. Through the regular and continued language practice, presented in the patterns of everyday speech at the child's level, ordinary children would gain some of the advantages of the nowadays exceptional bilingual child, i. e. that he can take for granted an unselfconscious linguistic skill and familiarity.

Sometimes it is said that a child must first complete certain steps in the mother-tongue before turning to another language. But what **is** ever complete in the mother-tongue? (Perren, c. p.) Experience in Africa or India has shown that it is certainly possible to introduce education through the medium of a second language in the first two years of schooling. Moreover it is not the concentrated attention on the mother tongue that necessarily leads to greatest success in linguistic or general education. The enrichment that the contact with another language and culture may constitute should reverberate on the other activities of the primary school, reduce the esprit primaire, the parochial character of much of primary school education and introduce into the fundaments of schooling that international element that today must be regarded as essential.

The logic of the situation leads us to think along the lines suggested. At this stage in the development it cannot be proved that the introduction of a second language will have the desired results. But, in our view, the social, political, cultural, educational and economic arguments discussed in the foregoing pages have sufficient force to invite teachers and administrators to think about the possibility of languages in primary education positively and with an open mind.

Chapter 4

Psychological aspects: (I) Bilingualism

Introduction

In addition to what has been said above, the demand for an early start in language learning in the primary school is based on psychological considerations. (Titone, c. p. 2) In fact, for many promoters of this reform, the psychology of language is the keystone for a bilingual education in the primary years.

It is widely regarded as a commonsense psychological truth that children have an uncanny gift for language acquisition and for vocal mimicry which it would be foolish to waste, especially as it seems to be lost in adult life. The learning of the first language has a simplicity and effectiveness which stands in contrast to the desperate and frequently futile efforts of second language learning in later years. Hence to many language teachers the pattern of first language learning represents an ideal to be followed in the teaching of the second language. And since language learning seems to meet serious obstacles at the conventional age of language study at school, the opportunities of the early years, it is argued, must not be missed. The young child is believed to possess not only special powers of imitation but also greater flexibility, greater spontaneity and fewer inhibitions than the adolescent or adult.

Much of the experimentation in early language teaching in based on such beliefs. Its results — so far as reported at the Hamburg meeting – suggest that it is indeed promising to teach and to learn a language in the primary years. But the methodological ingenuity and skill expended in the effort would lead one to believe that it is neither as 'natural' nor as 'easy' as it is sometimes claimed. "Children do not, in short, learn foreign languages with miraculous ease in school settings." (Carroll, 1961, p. 47). Nor is psychological evidence for an early start and for teaching languages before puberty nearly as obvious as is popularly believed. However there are data on bilingualism (this chapter) and language development (next chapter) which have to be borne in mind and, in the absence of much specific evidence on the learning of second languages by young children under varying conditions, interpretations must necessarily be based on the available knowledge. In general terms it may be said that psychological opinion is in harmony with the popular view;1) but it is more cautiously expressed and accompanied by the demand for further investigations, and some of the issues are recognized as frankly controversial.

The notion of bilingualism

To the monoglot who has perhaps a history of vainly trying to learn a foreign language the person who moves with ease in more than one language is often an object of intense admiration and even envy. The apparently easy acquisition of a language by children in a favourable bilingual milieu offers a tempting model for situations to be artificially recreated by educational measures.

But bilingualism is not only admired. It is also feared. Does it not overburden the mind, create unhappiness or confuse? Does it not perhaps lead the bilingual to a state where he does not feel at home in either language?

Bilingualism as an opportunity and a threat has been cited both for and against early language learning. To be clear about bilingualism is therefore highly relevant, especially if bilingualism is to be included among the objectives of primary education.

To the layman bilingualism is a simple and unequivocal concept. All major investigations, however, have shown that it is a multi-faceted term used to indicate many different though perhaps related conditions. (O'Doherty, c. p.) A person can be regarded as bilingual "when he is capable of using either of two languages without apparent difficulty whenever occasion demands that he should select the one medium of expression or the other. It does not imply complete mastery of two languages, a standard of attainment that is rarely achieved even by monoglots in the only language they have at their command. Neither does it imply equal command of two languages."

---

1) One often cited psychological description of children's special capacity for second-language acquisition is by Tomb (1925).

(Williams, 1962, p. 1). Such equal command which does exist (although not as commonly as one might think)[2] is known as **bilingual balance** (also dual language command, equilingualism, or ambilingualism); this would imply that a person shows essentially similar skills in both languages. What is more common is that the bilingual has a preferred language for certain purposes. These preferences may change in the course of development and it is possible to determine in detail various aspects of the **linguistic dominance,** i. e. the greater facility in one of the two languages.

Co-ordinate and compound bilingualism

An important distinction has to be made between what has become known as **compound** and **co-ordinate** bilingualism. Co-ordinate bilinguals in contrast to compound bilinguals keep their two languages functionally separate (Lambert, 1962). In the compound bilingual system the individual treats one of the languages or both as a code to be understood in terms of the other. Williams goes as far as to propose that only co-ordinate bilingualism deserves the term 'bilingualism' to distinguish it from any other knowledge of a foreign language. He describes it further in the following terms:

> "Bilingualism implies the presence in the same nervous system of two parallel but quite distinct patterns of verbal behaviour. The bilingual person experiences no difficulty in code-switching, as he does not bear the burden of having to translate. In the bilingual person there is a direct link between thinking and verbal expression in two languages; and his command of a second language is not confined to the overt aspects of language such as – vocabulary, sentence patterns and phonology, because he has within him the predispositions that guide the selections of elements of discourse and concepts as well as words." (Williams 1962, p. 2).

The immediacy with which a monoglot knows his one language and a co-ordinate bilingual two languages has been explained in the following psychological terms.[3] Language is a symbol system whose function is interpersonal communication. Although one symbol (e. g. a written word or a word in L2) can be used to indicate another symbol (e. g. the corresponding spoken word or a word in L1), such a process cannot go on ad infinitum. The referential dimension of language indicates the transition, not from one symbol to another, but from symbol to the thing signified. The relationship, owing to inadequate psychology of the nineteenth century, has often been thought of as one of 'association'. This is not so, because it involves a two-phase operation in the use of language which is not found to be the case when a language is operated with vernacular command. In this condition one does not first 'know' or 'become aware of' the word, and then by 'association' evoke the thought of the thing. On the contrary, the word itself operates as a symbol through 'intention of meaning'. In other words, the nature of a symbol which a word is, is to 'mean' something. We confer the meaning directly on the symbol. The two-phase operation of associationism is the condition of either a stage in the learning process, or of a non-co-ordinate or purely compound command.[4]

Various degrees of perfection in bilingual achievement can now be indicated: At the upper end of the scale one may be said to have achieved co-ordinate bilingualism with vernacular command in two languages defined as mastery of the skills of understanding, speaking, reading and writing in both languages, proportionate to one's age level and social group, together with an appreciation of the nuances, emotional overtones, and cultural dimensions of the two languages. This means also the ability to operate both languages independently of each other. In other words, the bilingual at this level, has "Sprachgefühl"; like a native speaker in either language, he does not translate, and he can merge completely in either group.

The minimum bilingual command, at the lower end of the scale, can be described, so far as the second language is concerned, as the ability to communicate with others through the second medium. This means a reasonable degree of mastery of the second sound system, the structure of the language and a lexical body of material proportioned to age and background.

---

[2] It occurs, for example, among young children in a bilingual milieu.

[3] The whole of this paragraph is based on O'Doherty, c. p.

[4] It should be noted that within a single 'language' as the word is usually used, one may find two or more different psychological languages (e. g. dialect and standard speech). Most important illustration of this – in connection with introducing a second language into the primary school – is the fact that within any one 'language' the oral and the written (visual) set of symbols are psychologically distinct languages. Thus, all the children in a literate population are strictly bilinguals. But because of the immediacy with which intention of meaning has been conferred on the visual symbol, we have come to think of it as 'the same' as the oral or vocal symbol. This is psychologically speaking the highest achievement of co-ordinate bilingualism, and represents a level of identification rarely achieved between two distinct oral systems. (O'Doherty, c. p.)

In discussions on bilingualism it is often assumed that co-ordinate bilingualism is invariably better than the compound system. But this is not necessarily so. However, in conditions where both languages have to be used equally and independently of each other the maximum co-ordinate command is desirable.

Now it appears that the way a language has been acquired has bearing on whether it is handled as a co-ordinate or compound skill. The co-ordinate bilingual has generally learnt his two languages in temporally and functionally or culturally separate contexts, whereas a compound command arises characteristically as the result of systematic language study based on instruction through the medium of the first language. (Lambert, 1962). Acquisition of a co-ordinate command is most clearly seen in young children, one of whose parents speaks one language while the other regularly uses the second language. Here is the possibility of making the child speak L1 with one parent and L2 with the other with hardly any awareness of using two different languages. This is indeed the crossing of the language barrier before one knows that there is a barrier. The aim in some of the experiments has been to create situations which offer a near equivalent to such an ambilingual situation. Such teaching experiments as the recent audio-visual courses of the CREDIF (Centre de Recherches et d'Etudes pour la Diffusion du Français) and those with young language learners have attempted to create conditions for an immediate apprehension of the second language and thereby a near approximation to co-ordinate bilingualism. When it is recommended, for example, that a certain part of the day, a certain room or a particular teacher should be set aside for L2 teaching, these measures are intended to promote the functional or temporal separation which is likely to lead to an optimum bilingualism.[1]

While these measures may be recommended to induce in this manner an unselfconscious bilingualism, many language teachers argue that they do not regard it as their main function to provide opportunities for attaining such facility, but that they want to create an understanding for language and culture including literature. These objectives are not invalidated. But they constitute an advanced stage of linguistic activity which is all the more rewarding the more it is based on an unselfconscious bilingual experience. The practice of language teaching has shown that the approach to the second language by conventional methods of instruction is arduous and the hold on the language precarious. Therefore it is not unreasonable to attempt to overcome these difficulties by trying to create quasi-bilingual situations which would provide a prolonged and continuing contact with another language or culture from an early stage of schooling.

However, many queries remain. It is not known whether bilingual situations invariably produce a bilingual response, whether the distinction between co-ordinate and compound bilingualism is as marked as the current theory suggests, or whether the bilingual situations set up in a school are adequate for producing anything approaching the upper end of the scale of bilingualism. These are all problems which still need to be studied by careful observation and experimentation. It would be particularly valuable, for example, for all countries interested in early language learning to benefit from the experience of those countries where today an artificially produced bilingualism is already an educational necessity.

The general effect of bilingualism

As was pointed out on page 17, some arguments against a second language in the primary school are derived from the fear of the ill-effects of bilingualism on the young personality, on intellectual as well as on emotional and social development. A great many studies have been undertaken on one or the other aspect of this problem the results of which are not very conclusive. With the pioneer work going back to the twenties, a bibliography of bilingualism produced by the Aberystwyth Collegiate Faculty of Education in 1960 listed nearly a hundred titles. Some 60 % of these investigations indicated that bilinguals were inferior to monoglots in attainment or intelligence, some 30 % found no significant difference and a small number indicated superiority for the bilinguals.

---

1) See also p. 75 below: "Mode of learning".

A criticism that is today levelled against many earlier studies of bilingualism is (a) that no distinction was made between various types and degrees of bilingualism; (b) that social and economic factors were not always taken into account; and (c) that the statistical procedures used to validate conclusions were often inadequate. If one might hazard an interpretation of all the work in this field up to 1939, the conclusion would be simply this: that a child is better educated and intellectually more advanced, if the language medium of instruction in the school is the same as that of normal social intercourse in the home. But this is clearly not a proposition about bilingualism as such. (O'Doherty, c. p.)

Since the second world war some very valuable work has been done, much more apposite than earlier studies, in as much as the problem studied was indeed that of two languages and not that of language media of instruction. Thus it would seem that if all other relevant variables are controlled, the position of the bilingual with dual vernacular command and co-ordinate bilingualism has certain advantages over his monoglot brother. One recent study by Peal and Lambert (1962) for instance concludes that "the bilingual students are **far superior** to monolinguals on both verbal and non-verbal tests of intelligence." (Lambert, 1962, p. 30).

Similarly when it is claimed that there is a causal connection between bilingualism and emotional instability, it has to be remembered that bilingual groups are often minority groups and in those situations it may be the culture conflict, the lack of status of the minority or prejudice against the minority which cause emotional difficulties; the language itself may not be the primary factor.

A consensus of opinion today seems to be that "there is as yet no conclusive evidence that enables any objective student of bilingualism to state with any degree of certainty that bilingualism is either an advantage or a handicap for a young human personality." (Williams, 1962, p. 10). In other words, there is little justification on the available evidence for making great claims for the psychological merits of bilingualism. On the other hand, there is also less ground for fearing bilingualism than used to be thought.

To sum up, we have seen in chapters 2 and 3 that there are compelling arguments on social and cultural grounds for a multilingual education. The psychology of bilingualism draws attention to the special characteristics of a dual language acquisition and is reassuring with regard to the effect of bilingualism on mental development.

Chapter 5

Psychological aspects: (II) Language development

First and second language learning

Psychology has provided information on first language learning and the sequences of linguistic development. This encourages educators today to look upon second language teaching within the context of the general and linguistic development and in relation to the social environment in which the linguistic growth takes place. Thus the kind of thinking about language that is applied for example to the teaching of reading or the treatment of speech defect, is now beginning to be applied also to second language teaching. The second language is seen against the background of earlier language experience. The discussion on the optimum age for language learning can be regarded as part of the current treatment of the problem of **readiness.** Much thought is also given today – in line with what was already indicated in the last chapter (p. 19) – to the effect of second language learning on the development of the first language, on mental growth and personality. Such a comprehensive approach to problems of second language learning is entirely to be welcomed.

The total process of first language learning is, however, still an unexplained puzzle. Yet, details of the process are fairly well known and understood and it is widely recognized that the sequences of first language learning are lawful. (McCarthy, 1954; Carroll, 1960a; Ervin and Miller, 1963). However, it is a matter of controversy whether the learning of a second language is an identical process. One view which is widely held is that for second language acquisition in the early years the same principles as for first language learning apply; and indeed one of the arguments for recommending an early start is that the second language can be learnt in a similar way to the first because it is nearer in time to first language learning. For example, listening and comprehension come before utterance in the first language, therefore it is thought that in second language learning listening should also precede speaking and both should come before reading and writing. Or it is noted that rational or abstract logical learning cannot be imposed on the child, when he learns his first language, consequently it should not be imposed either for second language learning in the early years. Language has further been interpreted as a system of sounds translated into habits or skills; these are acquired through imitation, conditioning and memorizing. From this it is argued that second language teaching of young children ought to create situations in which similar processes come into play. Against a too mechanical interpretation of the early language learning process, it has however also been pointed out that first language learning is not merely a coding process, but that it is a complex situational skill acquired in a total, personal and social situation, and that this should be borne in mind in teaching a second language to younger children, where the ideal would also be a similar total learning situation. It will be seen below that this is, in fact, aimed at in some experiments. Finally, with regard to first language learning, attention has been drawn to the following factors as important: (a) an innate drive to communicate; (b) a social urge to exercise linguistic skills, and (c) verbal curiosity. All of these would also operate in early second language learning.

It will be seen from these observations that the approach to early second language teaching in terms of first language learning is encouraging and can be very fruitful. But it must be pointed out that much of this is still open to question and needs investigating. To argue that certain procedures in second language teaching are more 'natural' because they are founded on first language learning assumes (a) that current descriptions of first-language learning are flawless, and (b) that they are fully applicable to L2 learning. There are obvious differences between a four-year-old who is already an experienced speaker of one language learning a second one in the nursery school or, more so, of a seven- or eight-year-old who may even be a reader or writer of one language, learning another language at school – and a two-year-old learning to speak his native language. Quite apart from differences in age, maturity and intellectual experience, the learning of the first language within the real-life context of interpersonal situations is bound to present different opportunities from learning a language in the classroom outside a functional context.

Again when, in order to justify a non-analytical approach to early L2 learning, the elements of effortless imitation and unconscious learning are stressed, it is possible that the conscious striving and deliberate language exploration in infants are overlooked. A baby learns to speak 'purely by imitation', it is said. But imitation can be seen as too passive and automatic a process. Even casual observation of infants shows that a child does not mirror everything he hears, but that he selects among a mass of verbal situations a limited number of those that are meaningful to him. Language is a shared system of symbols, and it is only learned if the speaker follows the rules of the verbal behaviour of his environment. If the child did not imitate he would just not speak the language. To say that an infant learns 'purely by imitation' is tautological and conceals the social perception and the selective and creative activities of early linguistic behaviour. And to found second language learning on the principle of learning 'purely by imitation' may be a false analogy as well as a misinterpretation of first-language learning.[1]

It is likely that some of the current experiments in early language teaching are based on such psychological a priori assumptions. As hypotheses to be tested by teaching experiments they are unobjectionable, but as self-evident truths on which to organize educational practice they are risky. For the sake of making a good case for early language teaching undue emphasis may be laid on the ease of early language learning and the real difficulties may tend to be minimized or even completely overlooked.

The optimum age for language learning

To make second language learning harmonize with the timetable of child development is a move in the right direction. But readiness for any learning is never purely a matter of biological maturation. There are, as we shall see below, arguments on neurological grounds which suggest the advisability of an early start. From a psychological point of view it is less easy to pronounce with authority on this. It is hardly even theoretically possible to envisage **one** optimum period, nor is it in the interest of a sound language teaching policy in the primary school to overemphasize the merits of an early start.

The learning of languages has many facets and in a lifetime an individual may require different languages. To suggest that languages can be learnt 'only' when young is disproved by the fact that there are many adults who have learnt other languages at different stages of life. Some of the claims for different ages of language learning have been summarized in the accompanying table (Table 1).

It is not necessary to justify the teaching of languages in the primary years on the grounds that it is **the** optimum period. What is needed is (1) to show that it is socially and educationally desirable. This, we hope, has been done in earlier chapters of this report. (2) It must be shown that it is sound from the point of view of the development of children, that, in fact, there are no contra-indications on psychological grounds for teaching a language at this stage. (3) If, in addition, it can be demonstrated that the learning of languages in the early years has certain special merits this would add further weight. In other words, instead of searching for the optimum-age-in-general, it should be sufficient to show that the primary years are a good period for beginning a second language, offering certain special advantages.

The current knowledge of development of children between four and ten, as represented by such studies as Gesell and Ilg's on American children (1946) suggests that children are at a stage of linguistic expansion and general development which is entirely favourable to second language learning, provided the teaching takes into account general, intellectual, social and emotional development. In a statement to the Modern Language Association of America in connection with a conference on the age for beginning to learn a second language Gesell and Ilg said:

> "The present trend toward providing opportunities for second-language learning in the early grades indicates a clearer recognition of the patterns and sequences of child development. The young child enjoys language experience. He is ready to learn, to listen, to communicate by word of mouth, in playful and dramatic situations. With favourable motivation he is emotionally amenable to a second and even a third language." (Modern Language Association of America, 1956, p. 8).

Here the assumption is that language teaching at this stage is based less on the customary methods of teaching languages in the secondary school and more on what loosely may be de-

---

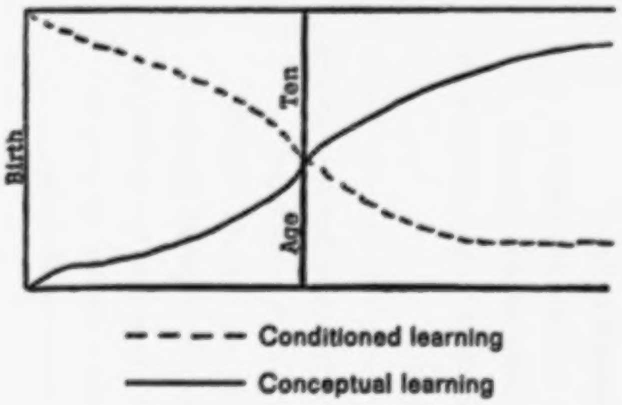
[1] Suggestions for studies of the child as language learner are discussed on p. 77 below.

TABLE 1 Arguments frequently advanced for or against starting languages at different stages of life

Stage	Advantages	Disadvantages	Special merit
Before adolescence (at the primary level) appr. ages 3-10	Accords with neuro-physiology of brain; easiest and most effective. Natural, good pronunciation; leaves richer linguistic memory traces for later expansion. Longer time for language can be allowed.	Possible confusion with first-language habits. Transfer to other languages doubtful. No conscious acquisition of language learning process. Time spent not commensurate with results.	Where two language communities are closely associated, e. g. bilingual family, multilingual countries, foreign language common medium, or only medium for contact with outside world.
At adolescence appr. 11 to school leaving	Increased capacity to appreciate many aspects of language and culture contacts. Still sufficient time to attain high standard; improved memory, higher level of intellectual growth. First-language skills well established, hence no confusion.	More laborious than early learning. Success demands tenacity. Self-consciousness. Possible refusal to memorize. Experience has shown poor results frequent. Already crowded curricula and specialization of studies.	Non-vocational, general, cultural contribution to secondary education. Possibility of conscious transfer to other languages in later years.
Adulthood	Specificity of purpose; good motivation, added to reasons mentioned for adolescence.	Not enough time. Other preoccupations. Irregularity of study.	Greatest amount of learning in least amount of time.

scribed as 'activity methods', such as are applied in the nursery school or in the early stages of primary education. Given these conditions and in the absence of definite research evidence to the contrary, there are no psychological reasons why a second language should not be started at any age during the nursery and primary years of education.

In a carefully reasoned article on the optimum age for language learning Andersson (1960) has pointed out the special merits of early language learning. On the basis of available studies of language development in the child he concludes that the child's linguistic achievement is the result of conditioned and conceptual learning. In infancy and the early years of childhood conditioned (i. e. unconscious) learning prevails and conceptual learning is still at a minimum. Gradually the capacity for conditioned learning declines while the reliance on conceptual learning increases, as diagrammatically represented below.



The earlier a second language is learnt the more it is possible to acquire it in a way which is similar to first language learning, i. e. largely by a process of unconscious habit formation. Andersson tentatively approves of the suggestion made by the conference on this question which was just mentioned (p. 22), i. e. that a favourable period for starting is between four and eight, because according to his theory this is still a stage in which unconscious habit formation is possible, yet the conceptual processes are sufficiently developed to support, but not so developed as to hinder, quasi-native-language conditioned learning.

While such a point of view is plausible, Andersson is right in presenting it as "tentative" and a "hypothesis". It rests on the assumption that language learning is a mixture of conceptual and conditioned learning growing and declining in the proportions and at the ages indicated in the diagram. But granting the truth of this interpretation, its main point is not that language learning is impossible or unprofitable at later stages, but that early language learning has certain characteristics which are not repeatable in later years. These are in brief those which above were defined as the qualities of dual vernacular command. Wherever such a dual command is desirable, an early start is likely to fulfil the conditions much better than a later one.

Some of the work reported at the Hamburg meeting suggested that promising starts were made at different ages during the primary years from five to eleven. On the evidence available, then, one would recommend that the more urgent a full bilingual command of a particular language is, the earlier should be the beginning of continuous second language learning and the more time should be devoted to it.

Language aptitude

Anyone teaching languages in conventional settings is familiar with the observation that the learners soon string themselves out in high, medium and poor performers. The high performers 'lap up' the new language easily, reproduce the new sounds with remarkable accuracy, structure their sentences correctly, remember new words and sequences over long periods and somehow enter into the spirit of the language to a remarkable degree. The poor learner, on the other hand, is deficient in most or all of these qualities.

The question arises: are these differences in performance the result of a specific **linguistic aptitude** or a lack of it? Or is it more a matter of general intelligence, or of some other factors, e. g. interest or attitudes to the people speaking the language? In short, is there a gift for languages and if so what bearing has it on the teaching of languages at the primary level?

Carroll who has investigated the question of linguistic aptitude, has come to the conclusion that the commonsense opinion of a gift for languages is confirmed by research. Carroll and Sapon (1958) have constructed a test battery which systematically explores the essential components of this linguistic aptitude. Their test has predictive value as to how adults or adolescents are likely to respond to language teaching. Carroll is now investigating the question of how early this aptitude declares itself: in his view, it is likely that even children differ in this capacity.[2] Impressions of those with experience of language teaching to younger children confirm that among young children differences in responding to the new language declare themselves soon. Assuming the existence of a language aptitude even in the early years one may be inclined to draw the conclusion that the gift of tongues is innate, and therefore that those who 'lack' it will be impervious to language instruction and that teaching them will be 'hopeless' and 'a waste of time'. The psychologist is more cautions. Although he, too, may regard the language aptitude as a relatively invariant characteristic (Carroll, 1960 b and c) he does not prejudge the issue and jump to the conclusion that there is no possibility of influencing it. On the contrary current views tend more and more towards the conviction that human abilities – such as intelligence, or linguistic aptitude –, dependent though they may be on biologically transmitted capacity, can be influenced in their development through appropriate learning at the right time. Now it is a matter of commonsense observation that in a bilingual milieu – in spite of differences in linguistic aptitude that must be presumed to exist there as elsewhere – a level of language achievement is reached by whole populations that it would be hard to attain by usual methods of language instruction. It can, therefore, be argued that one of the purposes of early language teaching by the creating of a bilingual milieu would be to offset differences in the aptitude for languages or to contribute to the development of a higher level of linguistic aptitude among a population by opportunities for learning at a favourable stage in the process of maturation. Here again we cannot speak with certainty; but in the present stage of psychological knowledge of human abilities the promotion of linguistic abilities by timely teaching and stimulation is entirely reasonable.

In planning second language learning for the primary school it would therefore be premature to make use of any selection process. There is no psychological reason why any child should not reach some proficiency in a second language. Children at all stages on the intelligence distribution graph above the severely retarded level can communicate through language of some kind. Even a child who begins to talk at a point rather late in his development has no discernible handicap in second language learning compared to other children.[3]

Social and emotional factors

Finally, we must draw attention to certain social and emotional factors in language learning, in particular the attitudes held by children, their families and the community generally towards the other language and also towards the people speaking that language. Into language learning enters more than the maturation of the learner and his linguistic aptitude. It is largely a matter of motivation and attitudes. Experienced language teachers are aware of this. It is now also supported by the ingenious and penetrating studies in the social psychology of language learning which Lambert and his students have recently carried out in Canada and the USA. (Lambert, 1962; Lambert et al., 1961).[4]

Lambert's subjects were mainly adolescents or adults. The attitudes of young children to language learning have not yet been much investigated. In making young children learn a second language one will hardly expect a full grasp of the complex social, political and educational motives which prompt this task. From all that is known about motivation and attitudes in children, one would infer that children require less explanation and more an eager and positive attitude towards the contact with the language, culture and people. This is conveyed to them by their social environment, particularly their families, but also through the social climate of the school and neighbourhood. If the attitude conveyed is negative and has led to antagonistic stereotypes, the learning of the language in question – whatever the starting age and whatever the linguistic aptitude – is likely to be an uphill struggle. On the other hand, if it is favourable this is an asset to be valued, because it is likely to contribute to success. The strength of motivation that can be drawn from a positive attitude in the community towards a particular language is illustrated by this observation from a report on English in Kenya:

---

[2] See below p. 78 no. 7.

[3] One proviso is needed. There is the possibility that certain children of otherwise normal intelligence have special deficiencies in language learning abilities, but research has not yet yielded definite methods of diagnosing or treatment of such cases.

[4] See also among other studies: Jones (1949, 1950), Gardner and Lambert (1959) and Peal and Lambert (1962).

> The astonishing fact about English in Kenya is not that teaching has been so bad, but that learning has been so good.
>
> It often seems merely academic in Africa today to argue the rightness or wrongness of beginning English before completing certain steps of education in the mother tongue. The fact is that in West, East and Central Africa pupils and parents demand English as soon as possible; and in language-learning the pupil must be presumed right, for he, and only he, can supply the essential ingredient – the will to learn and the effort required – which is the sole factor about which there seems no doubt of the necessity. (Perren, c. p.)[5]

We conclude that the introduction of a language is not simply a matter of curriculum and method, nor one of correct psychological timing. It must also be viewed against the background of aspirations and social attitudes among the population served by the school system.

---

[5] For a discussion of variables affecting motivation see pp. 74 and 75 below.

Chapter 6

Neurological aspects

In the discussions on the merits and demerits of early language learning the opinion of the Canadian neurologist Wilder Penfield in favour of an early start has received much prominence. Penfield who is Chairman of the Department of Neurology and Neurosurgery of McGill University has set out his views on the learning of languages in the final chapter of a work on speech and brain mechanisms (1959).[1]

> "My plea," he writes, "to educators and parents is that they should give some thought to the nature of the brain of a child, for the brain is a living mechanism, not a machine. In case of breakdown, it can substitute one of its parts for the function of another. But it has its limitations. It is subject to inexorable change with the passage of time." (p. 257).

Languages, he argues, should be learnt by "the normal physiological process" as a by-product of other pursuits. The brain has a biological time-table of language learning. The complex speech-mechanisms of the dominant hemisphere of the cerebral cortex develop in infancy and childhood before the onset of puberty. We must face the fact that the young organism has a capacity for the acquisition of new speech mechanisms which the adult no longer possesses to the same extent. Hence, use ought to be made of this 'plasticity' of the brain in the early years, because for a young brain it is no more difficult to learn two or three languages than it is to learn one.

Penfield bases these views primarily on the results of studies of brain damage at different stages of life: a child who has lost the use of one hemisphere and has become aphasic can relearn language; adults, he claims, do not have this capacity. He further cites psychological evidence of language achievement in childhood and the observations on the language development of his own children in a multilingual milieu.

Penfield's point of view does not go unopposed (e. g. Milner, 1960). The criticism is that his conclusions are not warranted by the experimental data. Nevertheless, it is in line with current thought in neurology and physiological psychology, e. g. the work of Hebb, (1949, 1958), to establish the connections between the growth of brain mechanisms and the development of verbal behaviour. Other neurologists approaching the problem from a different point of view, e. g. Glees, have also reached the conclusion that second language learning in the early years can be recommended on neurophysiological grounds. Glees, for example, stresses the limited capacity of the organism, which it would be unwise to ignore. "Speech indeed, like good habits, is something that it is as well to get into the way of early, and not a skill for which a trained mind or greater experience is any help." (Glees, 1961).

Bearing these different points of view in mind and the possible influence they are likely to exert on teachers and administrators who find it hard to assess their merits for a policy of early language teaching, the following statement on neurophysiology and the basic organic language skills may serve as a rough guide:

1. Since a language is acquired in the first instance acoustically and is intrinsically dependent on certain neuroanatomical processes, neurology would indicate that the sensory-motor aspects of language which are so determined are more perfectly acquired – even in a second language – at an early age.
2. More positively, there are suggestions from neurophysiology that the complicated patterns of neuro-muscular connections, in particular the re-arrangement of neural pathways which are genetically determined to serve respiratory or digestive processes, must be made to serve instead the speech mechanisms of language. This in itself is a considerable achievement, and must be borne in mind in connection with learning a second language.
3. Since the total receptor and effector capacity of the organism is limited neuro-biologically, this limitation may be of paramount importance in learning a second language.
4. The consequences of current neurophysiological views for the teaching of a second language deserve serious consideration. Whether one uses the concept of limited capacity or Penfield's

---

[1] These views were first published in 1953 (Penfield, 1953).

theory of plasticity, it would seem that the earlier the start the better the grasp of the basic neuromuscular skills involved.

5. From a neurophysiological point of view there is no good reason against an early start: on the contrary, there are good positive indications for it. This is not to say, of course, that language learning – especially the conceptual aspects of language – may not be taken up successfully in later life. Educationists and psychologists should take more and more into account the findings of neurophysiology in this area.

PART II

EXPERIENCES AND EXPERIMENTS

In the foregoing part, we have tried to explain how the demand for language teaching in younger age groups in the primary school has arisen. The arguments for this reform were examined and the conclusion was reached that this reform is highly desirable on social and educational grounds and there is also much to be said for it from a physiological and psychological point of view.
The question is: can it be done? And, if it is practicable, what are the best ways of teaching languages to these younger groups? Since much experience has already been gathered we shall now survey and summarize the recent and current work in this field on which information was received up to the time of writing and consider in Part III what can be learnt from it.

Chapter 7

Survey of second language teaching at the primary stage

The observer who approaches this question from the experience of an advanced industrial country with a fully developed educational system notes with surprise that the practice is not the novel experiment that he imagined it to be. If we include in our survey the older practices in private schools and the accepted practices in large numbers of schools in the developing countries of Africa and Asia we will find that the teaching at the primary level is far more widespread than is commonly believed and it is 'experimental' only in the public educational systems of those countries in which the second-language start in the secondary school has been the rule. Data are available on 45 countries or regions.[1] In 32 of these a second language occurs at the primary level of education below the age of ten. In 7 more countries it is found at the primary level for ten year olds and above, and in only six of the countries it does not seem to occur at all within the primary system.
Of particular interest to this study are the 32 countries in which a language is taught at the primary level below the age of ten. Needless to say it is not a universal practice in all of them. But the fact that it does occur at all in such a large proportion of systems is an indication that this is a practice which cannot be ignored, whether it is approved of or not. If the practice of early language teaching in these 32 countries is examined more closely three groups can be distinguished. In 10 countries or regions the teaching of the second language below the age of ten is regular and widespread, e. g. the teaching of French (or English) in African States in which French or English is the common medium of instruction. In another group of 13 countries it is not a universal practice but is already an accepted practice in areas in which a second language is needed: for example, in bilingual parts of Belgium (Stijns, c. p.), or the French-speaking Vallee d'Aoste in Italy (Titone, c. p. 1), or in a limited number of schools e. g. in private schools of the Netherlands, Spain, Italy, England and other countries. In a third group of educational systems experiments are in progress or have recently been carried out with the intention of trying out the teaching of languages to children at school from a young age. Such experiments have now been reported from 14 countries, namely Argentina, Bulgaria, the English speaking parts of Canada,[2] Denmark, England, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, Wales, U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. There may be others but of these no details were received.[3]

---

[1] For a summary of the information see Appendix 2.

[2] In French-speaking Canada an early start in English is compulsory in the educational system.

[3] The totals in the enumerations exceed the total number of countries, (i. e. 32) because in several cases more than one classification applies.

From the thirty-two countries starting ages have been reported as follow:[4]

TABLE 2 Frequency of starting ages for primary school second language teaching in 32 countries

starting ages	below 6	6 - 7	8 - 9	9 - 10
number of countries	9	12	12	7

Languages taught at this level in the thirty-two countries distribute themselves in the following order of frequency:

English	19
French	13
Russian	4
German	3
Spanish	2

Certain languages are reported only from one country, namely, Bahas Indonesia (Indonesia), Byelorussian (Byelorussia), Chinese (Thailand), Esperanto (Netherlands), Finnish (Finland), Hebrew (Israel), Hindi (India), Hungarian (Hungary), Irish (Ireland), Swedish (Finland), Welsh (Wales).

According to the four main situations defined on page 13, the second language serves as a **lingua franca** in about eight countries or regions (chapter 8). It is the other language in nine bilingual countries (chapter 9). In nine further countries it is taught because the vernacular is regarded as too restricted in its circulation (chapters 10 and 11), and in six countries with one of the world languages as the vernacular, it is taught as a necessary foreign language (chapters 12–17).

In other words among the thirty-two countries there are at one end of the scale of situations some in which it is more or less a necessity to teach a foreign language young. In the extreme cases the multilingual situation is so complex that education without a second language taught early is hardly possible. The second language rapidly and increasingly becomes the medium of teaching. At the other end there are those countries in which these extreme pressures of linguistic circumstances do not arise. Instead the teaching of the second language to young children is a matter of educational policy. It is regarded as beneficial for the individual child or as socially desirable for the community and it is in these circumstances that most of the recent experiments have occurred.

It has not been customary in the past to study these two main situations jointly. But the Hamburg conference reached the conclusion that it was right to bear both types of experience in mind and that it would be profitable to bring the results of the one to bear upon the other.

In the following chapters we shall present illustrations of early language teaching and learning under these different conditions.

---

4) The totals in the following enumerations exceed the total number of countries, (i. e. 32) because in several cases more than one classification applies.

Chapter 8

The second language as a lingua franca of education

In some systems of education, especially in the developing countries of Asia and Africa, the second language is frequently the necessary medium of instruction and is therefore taught ab initio or at a very early stage of schooling. This was the custom in the colonial systems of education. Educational reformers and, in recent years, national-minded educationists in the emerging new States have, to a certain extent, tended to counteract this practice and to promote early teaching in the vernacular. The need for a world language is still frequently unquestioned but psychological considerations or national prestige have often prompted an emphasis on the vernacular and a delay in the introduction of the second language.

The situation in educational systems in which the second language is needed as a medium of instruction in the primary stages of education can be illustrated by the following examples.

Ceylon

In Ceylon under British rule, English had become the official language and also the language of polite social intercourse among educated Ceylonese. But from 1943 with the development of the Free Education Scheme came a rapid expansion of schools and with it an increased use of the national languages as media of instruction. There was a growing pressure against English because it had become a badge of privilege in the past and offended modern egalitarian sentiments. Yet it was soon apparent that English was still necessary for higher employment and higher education. And so egalitarian sentiment which had previously led to an opposition to English now led to the demand that English should be universally taught. Hence a recent decision that English is to be taught as a second language to all children from the third grade upwards (Sledd, 1960).

Nigeria

In the Yoruba-speaking Western regions of Nigeria children enter class I of the primary school at six and are taught in the vernacular. English lessons are introduced in the third term of the first year and continue with an increasing time allocation from one hour per week to five hours in class 3 and 4. From class 5 onwards all teaching except religious instruction is in English.

In every case the primary teachers are Nigerians whose native language is Yoruba or Bini. Most of them have never been taught by a native-English speaker and their accents on the whole reflect the vernacular. Primary schools have also to employ many untrained teachers. In spite of these handicaps the children's linguistic achievement is amazing. (Bradley, c. p.)

French-Medium African States and Madagascar

In the territories of the former French colonies French has remained the official language and the language of education. Although these areas now constitute independent States their linguistic situation is so complex that a common second language of wide distribution is a necessity. In the Camerouns English and French are the official languages as a result of particular historical and political connections. In Madagascar the national language **malgache** is used side by side with French.

In the French speaking African States primary education begins for four- to six-year-olds by an introductory French language course (cours d'initiation à la langue française), followed by a French-medium cours préparatoire (one year), the cours élémentaire (two years) and the cours moyen (two years). By and large, then, children in these French-medium countries learn a European language from the age of five or six. Only in Madagascar are the elementary stages of reading and writing first taught in the local vernacular (malgache). (Gineste, c. p.)

Kenya

"The Kenya educational system has to cater for a variety of races, tribes and communities; to the majority of these English is a foreign language, yet nevertheless an essential means not only of education but of economic integration within a society which is seeking some form of unity." (Perren, 1959, p. 50).

Because of the complex language situation in Asian and African schools in Kenya, English is introduced at the earliest possible stage, usually after a few years of teaching in the vernacular. This has offered difficulties particularly in Asian schools and therefore a number of attempts have been made to introduce English into some classes in the first year of schooling. This led in 1957 to a large-scale experiment. A Special Centre was set up in Nairobi with the aim of developing full English medium teaching from the beginning of the primary level in Asian schools and at the same time for the co-ordination of English teaching in African as well as Asian schools. (Perren, c. p.)1)

The phasing of the second language

In the countries of which the reports just cited offer illustrations the second language sooner or later becomes an important medium of instruction or in some cases even the only one, and therefore a major issue is the phasing of the second language in relation to the vernacular. Should the teaching of the second language begin at once, or follow the introduction to schooling through the vernacular? If the second language is delayed when should it be introduced?

If in these school systems bilingualism, as outlined in chapter 2 above, i. e. education in the vernacular **and** a second language, is accepted as the appropriate solution, the political issue of the prestige of either the vernacular or the second language will recede and the phasing of the two languages can be decided on chiefly educational grounds.

Superficially it appears more 'logical' to start teaching in the vernacular and to delay the second language until reading and writing in the vernacular are established. But against this it can be argued on psychological grounds that the habituation in reading and writing in the native language over a long period may militate against the spontaneous acquisition of speech in a second language. Moreover, as was pointed out already (see p. 16), there is no one point in the educational process at which one can say with definiteness that the learning of the vernacular skills is completed. It would follow from this observation that educationally one can equally well argue for the introduction of a second language simultaneously with, or prior to, the teaching of reading and writing the vernacular. Some teaching experiments in Europe (France and Sweden) also suggest that a pre-literacy start in a second language can be successful.

This issue is a subject for a much more careful evaluation of experiences than has so far been carried out and, possibly, for experimentation. For instance, the fact in some African countries (e. g. Kenya and most French medium States) the second language is started ab initio, while in others (e. g. Nigeria, Morocco, Madagascar) it is delayed, offers an opportunity for comparative studies of the effect upon general development and linguistic achievement of an immediate start in the second language in comparison with a delayed start.2)

Results

Undoubtedly under a great variety of conditions as described in the illustrations many Africans and Asians have learnt a second language early and effectively. It must however be remembered that the languages were learnt under special pressures. Education was (and still is) in short supply. To go to school was a privilege and educational advancement depended on success in the second language. Hence the motivation to succeed was high. To some extent the good results are those of limited and selected groups of children working successfully in spite of their teachers and the poor methods employed. With the spread of education to whole populations and the development of vernacular education a high level of second language teaching will increasingly depend on good teaching.

Moreover in spite of the admiration for what has frequently been achieved against great odds, the reports express very much concern about the general level of attainment. The poor performance in the second language and the cultural isolation resulting from this failure form part of a general picture of widespread illiteracy and low cultural standards. (Gineste c. p.). The kind of content taught is often completely alien to the child in his own setting and the language remains remote and unreal.

---

1) For particulars of an English course for young children which has been the work of the Special Centre, see chapter 19 below, p. 70.

2) See on this point also p. 77, no. 4.

Quality of teaching

To overcome these difficulties would require in the teachers a high level of linguistic performance and understanding, as well as considerable teaching skill. The reason for widespread low standards can be largely attributed to the poor quality of language teaching. It must be remembered that many teachers of the second language are themselves not native speakers of the language they teach and may never have heard the language in its own environment or even spoken by a native speaker. Their own knowledge is often very imperfect and as teachers they may be poorly qualified or quite untrained.

Therefore among many problems that present themselves are those of basic linguistic research, the development of sound materials to be employed in teaching, the training of teachers in good methods of teaching the second language and ways and means of mitigating the effects of inevitable teacher shortage.

On the positive side the fact that the second language is needed sooner or later as a medium of instruction should be particularly noted. This offers a stimulus to language learning, reinforces the knowledge of the language and provides the necessary contact hours without which a useful proficiency is hard to attain. The language is soon put to use. The learner is more concerned with subject matter than with the language qua se. He uses it as a necessary means of communication. As will be described below, in some of the teaching experiments it has also been found that making the language a means of communication is a most effective way of providing additional contact hours and practice in realistic situations.

Chapter 9

Second languages in bilingual or multilingual communities

A policy of bilingualism in Wales

Arguments for early second language learning present themselves forcibly in communities in which two or more languages co-exist and are officially recognized. The cohesion of the community may to a certain extent depend on the effective crossing of language barriers by entire populations. Of particular interest to the present discussion is, therefore, by way of illustration the experience of bilingualism in the primary schools of Wales.

In Wales English has a dominant position and leaders in Welsh opinion have for some time been concerned about the decline of the Welsh language. Accepting realistically the view that a knowledge of English as well as Welsh is necessary, the cultivation of an early Welsh-English bilingualism through the schools has come to be adopted. The history of this recent development in linguistic education is instructive because it demonstrates the possibility of finding a solution to a language problem which until now had been found to be almost intractable.[1])

The decline of Welsh

The population of Wales increased rapidly during the nineteenth century to reach a fairly stable level of some two and a half million during the present century. It has been estimated that the population was about 80 % Welsh-speaking during the first quarter of the nineteenth century and knowledge of English was confined to the upper classes, the educated, the larger towns, certain areas along the English border and an area in south-west Wales that had become English-speaking as a result of immigration and settlement.

English has been the only official language in Wales since the Act of Union, 1536, and when schools were established during the nineteenth century to cater for the whole population they were English-medium schools, ignoring the Welsh-speaking child's mother tongue and taking strong measures to discourage its use in the playground as well as in the classroom. This policy succeeded in making the Welsh-speakers of Wales in general bilingual. The immigration of English-speakers into industrial areas hastened the decline of the Welsh language in such areas and as the Welsh-speakers had acquired a knowledge of English to a point of fluency such areas became almost entirely English-speaking in the course of two or three generations.

Welsh is still spoken by a majority of the population in much of rural Wales and books continue to be published in Welsh at the rate of about 100 per annum. The quality of literature written in Welsh, extending from the sixth century to the present day, is remarkably high, reflecting its use as a medium of aristocratic living in the Middle Ages, its survival as a medium of peasant culture and its recent development as a medium of middle class culture.

Towards the end of the century some leaders of Welsh opinion became concerned about the decline of the national language and gradually secured a place for it in the system of education. By 1907 the Board of Education expressed a "wish that every Welsh teacher should realize the educational value of the Welsh language" and its code of Regulations stated "The curriculum should, as a rule, include the Welsh language ... Where Welsh is the mother-tongue of the infants, that language should be the medium of instruction in the classes." The next step towards bilingualism was the advocating of the teaching of Welsh as a subject to pupils in English-medium schools from the age of seven upwards. Some authorities in Wales have not adopted a bilingual policy, but by the nineteen-thirties the language policy of the schools over the greater part of the country was as follows:

Infant Schools (5 – 7) –	Education through the medium of the mother-tongue. No formal teaching of the second language.
Junior Schools (7 – 11) –	English-speaking children continued to be educated through the medium of the mother-tongue but were taught Welsh as a second language. Welsh-speaking pupils continued to receive some instruction through

---

[1] The following account (with minor modifications) is quoted verbatim from a report supplied by Professor Jac. L. Williams, Department of Education, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. (Williams, c. p.)

the medium of Welsh, but were usually taught arithmetic and some other subjects through English.

Secondary Schools – English continued to be used almost exclusively as a medium of instruction, with Welsh taught as a subject to some pupils at mother-tongue language level, to others at second-language level and to others at foreign-language level.

The following table gives some indication of the failure of this policy to bring about an increase in the incidence of Welsh-English bilingualism in Wales.

TABLE 3 Percentage of population able to speak Welsh and English in Wales according to census returns

Date	%
1911	35
1931	32.8
1951	27.8

It has succeeded in making Welsh-speakers bilingual as Table 4 indicates.

TABLE 4 Percentage of monoglot Welsh-speakers

Date	% monoglot Welsh-speakers
1901	15.2
1921	6.3
1951	1.7

It has not succeeded in making English-speakers bilingual. A survey of the incidence of bilingualism among school pupils in Wales in 1950, reported in **The Place of Welsh and English in the Schools of Wales.** (Report of Central Advisory Council for Education in Wales, 1953, published by H.M.S.O.) indicated that 82 % of children then living in Welsh-speaking homes had attained fluency in their second language (English) by the age of twelve. Only 4 % of children living in English-speaking homes had attained fluency in Welsh by the age of twelve. A more recent survey (1961, but results not yet published) indicates that there has been no significant change in the degree of success attained from teaching Welsh as a subject in primary schools and the percentage of bilingual children in Wales as a whole continues to fall.

This very significant difference between the degree of success achieved in the teaching of the two languages, each of which is officially in most cases introduced as a second language at the age of 7+ appears to arise from

(a) the number of contact hours with English is significantly greater than the number of contact hours with Welsh. English is used as a medium of teaching other subjects in addition to being taught as a subject. School 'contact hours' with English are reinforced by contact hours outside the school, e. g. radio, television, cinema.

(b) the higher status of English in the community. Acquiring a knowledge of English is essential for Welsh-speakers as it is the only official language and the only language used for administrative purposes even in areas where more than 75 % of the population use Welsh as a medium of social intercourse. Welsh is an appendage and a luxury that is not really necessary for living a fairly satisfactory social life even in areas that are predominantly Welsh-speaking.

(c) Arising from (a) and (b) there is stronger motivation promoting the learning of English for both child and parent.

1940–1960

During the period 1940–1960 as a result of war-time marriages and more mobility, a minority of English-speaking children came to attend many small rural schools in Welsh-speaking areas. Providing infant school education through the medium of both English and Welsh in accordance with the official mother-tongue policy proved impracticable and many schools continued to use Welsh as the only infant school language, irrespective of the presence of some pupils from English-speaking homes. In such circumstances children from English-speaking homes normally became fluent Welsh-speakers within three to six months of beginning to attend school.

During the same period Welsh-medium schools were established in anglicized areas, usually in response to demand from Welsh-speaking parents who wished to ensure that their children would grow up to be fluent speakers of Welsh and literate in both languages. These schools were very successful and their pupils proved equal to pupils attending English-medium schools in their achievements in English and in general education in addition to being bilingual. Some English-speaking parents who wished their children to become fluent Welsh-speakers came to send their children to these schools and in some areas private Welsh-medium nursery schools have been established to enable children from English-speaking homes to gain knowledge of Welsh as a second vernacular before they enter a Welsh-medium school at the age of five. By 1961 only a minority of the pupils in some of these official Welsh-medium primary schools established during the period 1945–1955 to provide early education through the medium of the mother-tongue for Welsh-speaking pupils actually came from Welsh-speaking homes, and the schools are now coming to be regarded not merely as schools offering primary education through the medium of the mother-tongue to children from Welsh-speaking homes but also as the only type of school situated in English-speaking areas that succeeds in turning monoglot English-speaking pupils into Welsh-English bilinguals.

In such schools, arithmetic is usually taught through English and contact hours with English are not confined to the teaching of English as a subject. Secondary schools are now being established by some education authorities to maintain this primary school bilingualism at secondary school level. Some subjects are taught through English and some through Welsh, not of necessity the same subjects in every school, and in this manner the bilingualism established at kindergarten level and developed in the primary school is consolidated and developed at secondary school level.

The relatively inferior position of Welsh in the English-Welsh bilingual partnership and lack of skill in the presentation of Welsh as a second language among primary school teachers may be very important factors in the apparent failure of the teaching of Welsh as a subject in primary schools to produce results, that can be regarded as encouraging, let alone satisfactory. Teachers in secondary schools usually find that they have to start teaching Welsh as a second language from the beginning irrespective of whether their pupils have had experience of learning Welsh as a second language in primary schools, but they are able to proceed a little faster with pupils who have had some primary school experience of learning the language.

On the other hand there is evidence that kindergarten presentation of a second language is succeeding in turning monoglots into bilinguals almost without exception. No statistical evidence is available but it appears that this is happening without causing any disturbance or retardation to the child except in the case of (a) children of low intelligence, (b) children of English-speaking parents who do not wish their children to learn Welsh but have to send them to Welsh-medium schools as no other education is available. In such cases there may develop in the child an emotional attitude that militates against the learning of the new language and arising from parental attitude. This is in direct contrast to what is happening in Welsh-medium schools in anglicized areas where children from English-speaking homes have been admitted at parents' request in order to receive a bilingual education. Parental attitude appears to play an important part in the situation.

The cultivation of early bilingualism

Fluent bilingualism appears to be achieved with little conscious effort on the part of the child when the language of the kindergarten or infant school is different from that of the home language if there is good will towards the new language in the child's home. Experimental use of English and Welsh in a primary school on alternate days as the sole medium of teaching has also produced encouraging results. In such a system the number of contact hours with the new language is less than in a kindergarten where the new language is used every day and progress in the new language is considerably slowed but leads in due course to bilingualism.

An experiment in which pupils below the age of seven have been taught Welsh as a second language for only 15 minutes per day has indicated that even such a limited attempt to introduce young children to a second language is worth while. Pronunciation causes little difficulty and the children respond without any self-consciousness to language games introduced and played in the second language. They appear to break through the second language barrier before they realize that they are learning a new language. Reproducing and using the second language appears to be as natural as extracting their experience and usage of the first language.

It is probable that motivation plays a very prominent part in the success achieved in turning monoglots into bilinguals in Wales before they reach the age of seven. In the early stages of school life the group to which they belong and the teacher as its leader are of paramount importance to them and they are motivated to conform to the linguistic needs of a satisfactory member of that group. The group is what Jean Piaget might regard as "a working model" of the world for which they wish to prepare themselves and they adapt themselves for living in that world by acquiring a new medium of linguistic expression. At an older age they are aware of the fact that a second language is not really necessary for a satisfactory social life and motivation is consequently reduced.

Conclusions

In the opinion of Professor Williams the following conclusions on the early teaching of a second language arise from experience in Wales:

1. The sooner a child becomes bilingual the better are his chances of speaking two languages as a native speaker in adult life.
2. Specialist teachers based on the one-language-one-person principle appear to be getting better results than class teachers unless the class teacher uses the second language extensively, deliberately and purposefully outside the time officially designated for it as a subject on the school timetable.
3. Teaching a language as a subject does not lead to fluency in it unless such teaching is supplemented by the use of the language as a medium of teaching some other subject(s) or as a medium for some aspects of the social life of a school in order to increase the number of contact hours and use the language as a natural medium of communication.
4. Parental goodwill towards the language is a most valuable, and maybe essential, asset to the teacher and should be deliberately and intensively cultivated where the teaching of foreign languages is to be made a basic component in the primary school curriculum.

Chapter 10

Second language teaching policy in smaller linguistic communities

The majority of languages in the world are so restricted in circulation that for educational, cultural, political and commercial reasons the vernaculars must be supported by a second language of international or interregional status. Many of the smaller linguistic communities are strongly aware of this need and in order to secure an effective command early language teaching is beginning to be advocated in several of the countries with such restricted language distribution. For example, experiments in early language teaching are reported from Sweden, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Bulgaria and Hungary. Under this heading we may also include those countries in which regional or national languages are developed side by side with a common language of inter-communication, for instance Hindi and English in India and Russian in the non-Russian parts of the USSR.

The following accounts illustrate these developments.

Bulgaria

In Sofia Russian is taught in one nursery school for children between the ages of three and seven. The language is taught partly through short lessons, and partly through games and conversation during walks.

The lessons serve mainly for the introduction of new material. The youngest group have a daily lesson of ten to fifteen minutes, the intermediate group two lessons of twenty minutes each and the oldest group two lessons daily of 25 minutes each. Much use is made of games and pictorial material, including a puppet theatre. Simple poems and songs are learnt. A modified direct method is in use. The mother tongue is not excluded however; it is used mainly for checking and consolidating newly acquired material. (Der Fremdsprachenunterricht . . ., 1961)

While this kindergarten is unique in Bulgaria in teaching a foreign language, there is a society for modern languages which sponsors courses in foreign languages for young children of pre-school age. The methods employed in these courses are similar to those described for the kindergarten. (Der Fremdsprachenunterricht . . ., 1961)

Hungary

The teaching of foreign languages to children between the ages of eight and ten in the primary classes of the general school system has a history dating back to 1949 which can be divided into three stages.

Stage 1 (1949–1953). During this period many primary schools started courses in Russian for years two, three and four; but for various reasons this work was soon abandoned. There was no accepted methodology, no appropriate textbooks or teaching aids were available. Teachers had no training for language teaching at this level. In most cases, the textbook for pupils of class five were used in classes two, three or four. As a result children merely went over the same ground again when they reached the fifth class. For all these reasons the teaching of languages at the primary school was discontinued.

Stage 2 (1952/53–1960/61). Following the failure of language teaching at the earlier stage few attempts were made to begin language teaching in the primary years.

Stage 3 (from 1960/61 onwards). This period is characterized by a renewed interest in early language teaching. This time, however, the approach is made by means of carefully devised experiments in new schools and practice schools attached to teacher training colleges.

Language teaching is begun in classes three or four. The number of lessons per week varies from one to three. But the language instruction is properly integrated into the time-table and the whole form participates.

Various objectives are borne in mind. There are Russian courses at the fourth-year level intended to ease the proper start in Russian in class five. But by and large the aim is to give children a facility and an experience in a language in order to raise the whole level of language learning in subsequent years.

Activity methods prevail: an oral approach, repetition and games. In the first year in general no reading or writing; instead songs, anecdotes, dialogue, repetition in chorus of sentences spoken by the teacher. But there are also some special courses in which the aim is to teach reading and writing the Russian language, so as to ease the start in the following class. This is not a textbook course either. Children write individual words, and learn to read by shifting mobile letters and composing words with their help.

The response to these classes has been very favourable both among pupils and their parents. For the school year 1961/62 an extension of this work is planned. A committee has been formed to work out a plan for primary schools with foreign languages. All these schools will have one major foreign language which may be Russian, English, French or German, and, at a later stage, also Italian or Spanish. Much remains to be done especially in the development of appropriate textbooks and teaching materials and the training of teaching staffs for this new kind of work. (István, c. p.)

Netherlands

As was explained in an earlier chapter (chapter 1, p. 11) the teaching of French in Dutch primary schools has an unusual history. The present situation is as follows:

Foreign languages are not included in the curriculum of the primary school (i. e. for pupils aged six to twelve). For those pupils, however, who will have French in one or the other post-primary course, French courses are privately arranged by heads of primary schools, the parents or certain organizations. They are given before or after regular school hours and have to be paid for.

As these courses are illegal and are not controlled, there are no accurate statistical data on the number of pupils, teachers, the qualifications of the teachers, etc. The authorities shut their eyes to the fact that the schoolrooms are used for these private courses. It can be estimated that from 20 % to 40 % of the total enrolment of primary schools attend these lessons, given to pupils in the last two years of the primary course (i. e. to the ten to twelve year olds) during two weekly periods of 45 minutes. The main argument for this instruction is the wish to facilitate the entry into the secondary schools and to avoid that the pupils are confronted there with too many new subjects at once which include two foreign languages. Moreover it is also argued that French as a Romance language is more difficult than the other compulsory languages and therefore needs more time.

Much criticism is voiced against these unofficial French courses. Thus an enquiry by van Willigen in 1956 among some 100 teachers in secondary schools showed that more than 50 % of these teachers were opposed to this preparatory introduction of French and the remainder qualified their approval by specifying certain conditions about the character of this teaching. The criticism is that the classes are often inexpertly handled by ill-qualified teachers, that the work is not sufficiently adjusted to the age of the children and not integrated into the primary course. Moreover the choice of the children in the French classes is often based on grounds not relevant to language learning, such as the parents' social or financial status.

The possibility of good language teaching at the primary level is recognized, provided methods appropriate to the age are employed. It should however be mentioned that the one and only experiment on language teaching in the primary school which was attempted in the Netherlands, in the Arnhem area, failed, because it was badly prepared and organized. This seemed to indicate that enthusiasm is not enough. (Van Willigen c. p.)

India

The teaching of Hindi to children in what are usually known as the non-Hindi speaking areas is beginning to demand more and more attention. Hindi is learnt either as a compulsory language or as an optional subject at the secondary stage in nearly all the States that fall within the category of non-Hindi speaking areas. But in the following areas an attempt is being made to teach Hindi already in the primary classes: (i) Punjab and Pepsu, (ii) Orissa, (iii) Andaman and Nicobar, and (iv) Delhi.

English is taught as a second language in nearly all the States as a compulsory subject at the secondary stage. It is started in the last year of the primary stage only in the State of Assam. But there are several schools all over the country, and especially in large towns such as Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Bangalore, etc., where individual schools provide, for one reason or another, and particularly because of demand from parents, instruction in English in primary classes. (Chari, c. p.)

Sweden
is another country which falls into the present category of communities. Its current experiments in teaching languages to younger children will be the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 11

English without a book: A Swedish experiment

One of the most thorough experiments in teaching a foreign language to younger children has been reported from Sweden. As this work is likely to be of interest to many readers and particularly to those concerned with research and experimentation we shall give a separate account of it in this chapter.[1])

Language teaching problems in Sweden

In Sweden English is a compulsory subject in all primary schools from the fourth school year, i. e. from the age of 10 upwards.[2]) Swedish teachers – as teachers in other countries – have noted with concern the poor standards of performance in foreign languages. Thus Mr. Axelsson, Consultant for English teaching in the Swedish Board of Education, was faced with the problem of how to improve the pronunciation of primary school-children and their teachers. With this question in mind he turned in 1956 to Dr Max Gorosch, the Director of the Institute of Phonetics in the University of Stockholm. Dr Gorosch had had experience with audiovisual equipment in the teaching of languages to students at university level.

Starting from the assumption that language is learned orally and that a younger child is a better language learner than an older one or an adult, Dr. Gorosch suggested that it might be possible to develop a system of language training in the classroom, giving sounds by means of recordings and the meanings through situational pictures. This system should be used during the first four school years for children aged 7 to 11 without a book and without the help of a specially trained teacher. Thus one would take advantage of the natural imitative ability of pupils of that age, and through the use of audiovisual aids the lack of trained teachers for children of that age could be overcome. Moreover, the pictures and recordings would produce in the classroom something approaching the natural conditions for learning a language, i. e. direct association between visual and auditory impressions. In addition, recordings would make it possible to study exact repetitions and, as was discovered later, through the use of audiovisual aids the effect of the teacher, his personality and method, could be kept under better experimental control than in conventional classroom lessons.

Shortage of time on the timetable made it necessary to operate with a maximum period of 45 minutes per week, divided into three weekly sessions of 15 minutes each in a six-day timetable.

The preparatory experiment, 1957

In the preparatory experiment, four schools in Stockholm near the Institute of Phonetics, and in each school four classes, participated. This means that a total of between 400 and 500 pupils, aged 7 to 11, were involved. The materials used in the preliminary experiment consisted of film strips and tape-recordings. The film strip had 211 pictures in 12 teaching sections. The tape-recording was 60 minutes long, equally divided into 12 teaching sections of about five minutes duration. The teachers received the text, short written instructions and an information sheet about the experiment. The pupils and their parents were issued with the same information sheet. The different sections of the sound film strip were presented one at a time. The pupils saw and heard the sound film strip for 15 minutes three times a week. As three sections a week were communicated to the pupils it took four weeks to go through the complete sound film strip. When all the sections had been gone through the series was repeated, in some cases with two sections at a time. The whole experiment lasted eight weeks.

Dr. Gorosch and Mr. Axelsson frequently visited the schools and made observations and recordings. Their general impression was that the experiment had been successful. Encouraging reactions were also reported from teachers, parents and administrators. The experiment was evaluated by the subjective judgment of the experimenters. In agreement with the headmasters, teachers and representatives of the school authorities they reached the following conclusions:

---

[1]) What follows is abstracted from the **Preliminary Report on English without a Book**, by Max Gorosch (1962).

[2]) Before 1961 it was from the fifth school year, i. e. from the age of 11 upwards.

1. the method functioned well from a technical point of view;
2. the pupils grasped the meaning of the phrases and they perceived and imitated many of the phonemes well;
3. the method proved easy to fit into the timetable of the schools;
4. the impression was gained that pupils, parents, teachers and headmasters were enthusiastic and wanted the experiment to continue.

The 1958 experiment

In 1958 the experiment was extended so as to include 40 classes of children from the first to the fourth year of schooling in seven different schools throughout Sweden; also two special classes for backward children took part. The material was enlarged from 12 to 18 sections and a total of 360 pictures. A careful lay-out plan defining the sequence of silent listening, active repetition of phrases and revision was worked out. The favourable results noted in the preliminary experiment were confirmed in this second phase of the study.

A more careful evaluation of the pupils' progress in pronunciation and intonation by means of scientific procedures at the end of the experimental period led to the somewhat unexpected conclusion that pronunciation as well as understanding improved more rapidly the older the pupils were. Pupils of 11 years of age learnt more accurately and more quickly than the seven-year-olds. Although these results are far from final they seem to disprove one of the hypotheses on which the experiment was founded, namely, that the younger children learnt more effectively because of the greater imitative powers that are attributed to children in their early years.

In the autumn of 1958 the experimental work continued steadily. Participating classes repeated the first course, and a second course to follow the first was produced. It was planned that four courses should be developed, one for each of the first four years of schooling, gradually advancing in difficulty.

Developments in 1959

In 1959 the problem of transition had to be faced by those classes which were now reaching normal English classes in the fifth school year. A tentative approach to meeting the difficulties was made but this problem is still awaiting fuller investigation.

In the same year also the experiment was further consolidated by a formal agreement between the experimenters and the Board of Education. This secured co-operation between the participants and defined the role which each was to play in further work.

Summary of the experiment in its present form

The material for the experiment in its present form consists of four one-year courses. Together with the sound film strip the following material is issued: a stencilled or printed text, a plan of the courses, and advice to the teacher on questions pupils are likely to ask. The pictures are simple outline drawings or simple colour pictures. For the recordings the speakers are native Englishmen with southern English pronunciation. The speed of speech is slow but quickened towards the end of each section and in later sections. The fourth course consists of the twelve most important lessons of the three preceding courses with captions: this is the first time the pupil sees the written text. To make certain that pupils have understood key words and key constructions 'the teacher's voice' has been introduced. This draws attention to difficult sounds and gives the exact meaning in Swedish of certain words or expressions when they occur for the first time. This voice also gives instructions about winding back the film strip and repeating the phrases. Objective comprehension tests with multiple choice answers have been constructed and tests of pronunciation are in preparation. Much thought has been given to the arrangement of presentation and lesson sequence, as well as to the testing of results.

Conclusion

Many problems and questions remain, among them the question of starting age,[3]) the amount of time required for effective learning, the kind of vocabulary and concepts to be introduced, the degree of preparation required by the teacher and the interaction between sound and pictures. The experiment opens the way to solving several of the practical problems of teaching languages to younger children. It has proved to be of practical interest to educationists, parents and teachers in Sweden and has aroused attention in other countries. At present experiments based on this work are being conducted in Finland (at the Swedish School of Tampere), in Denmark (at the Pedagogical Institute of Denmark and at the School of Rødding, Jutland), at the Centre International d'Etudes Pédagogiques, Sèvres (in the classes internationales), in Israel (School of Education, Hebrew University, Jerusalem[4]). At the School of Applied Linguistics at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland, the material has been used as a basis for discussion on language teaching. In addition to its practical interest, this experiment has given rise to many new ideas and hypotheses.

---

[3]) Although in Sweden seven is administratively the earliest possible starting age, the view is expressed that it may well be better to start at the age of five or even three.

---

4) See Cohen and Aronson, 1961.

Chapter 12

Early language teaching experiments in the U.S.A.

In those countries in which world languages or languages of wide distribution such as English, French, Russian or Spanish are the principal means of communication the teaching of a second language to younger children has presented itself clearly as a matter of educational choice. In a number of these countries the social, political, psychological and educational arguments have been widely discussed and several important teaching experiments have been carried out. Some of the work which was reported from the U.S.A., France, U.K. (England), the Federal Republic of Germany, Argentina and U.S.S.R. will be the subject of the present and the following chapters.

Foreign Languages in the Elementary Schools of the U.S.A. (FLES)[1]

Introduction

The public elementary school in the United States normally includes grades one to six and in most communities also includes a kindergarten of one year before grade 1. Grades 1, 2 and 3 are normally called the primary grades and 4, 5 and 6 the middle or intermediate grades of the elementary schools. Children normally begin their schooling in the first grade at the age of 6.

Control of the educational system is vested in the 50 individual States and much authority is delegated by the States to local communities, where the school board or school committee has chief responsibility for educational policy and a superintendent of schools is responsible for carrying out this policy, assisted by the principal of each school. The result of this local control of education is that individual communities may decide whether or not to experiment with the teaching of foreign languages in the elementary grades. As the MLA surveys show, a great deal of experimentation has taken place and continues to take place. Despite a great and increasing interest in this new trend only a small proportion of the total elementary school population (not more than 5 %) is yet involved.

The most popular starting age is 8 to 10 (grades 3 and 4). The most popular languages are Spanish, French, German, but smaller numbers in some elementary schools receive instruction in half a dozen other languages. In most programmes all pupils in a given grade are given the opportunity to learn a second language. A few programmes, including the famous Cleveland programme, select the better pupils for this extra work.

History and current situation

In the early decades of the free public schools, in the middle of the 19th century, it was common in communities with a heavy German population to include the teaching of German in the elementary school. This practice continued up to World War I when it ceased suddenly for emotional rather than rational causes. The experimental teaching of French in the elementary grades began in Cleveland in 1922 and was pursued sporadically in various places during the 20's, 30's, 40's and 50's. Encouragement to this trend was given in 1952 by Dr. Earl J. McGrath, then U.S. Commissioner of Education. In 1954 the Modern Language Association of America also endorsed the principle of teaching foreign languages in the elementary school but issued cautions concerning proper procedures.

In the last ten years the practice of teaching languages to younger children has increased rapidly in the public schools of the United States. These attempts have been met by some success and a good deal of failure. As some programmes are discontinued because of the lack of qualified teachers or because of inadequate support from the community of the school board administration, other programmes in greater numbers are begun, many of them in turn doomed to die for the same reasons.

---

[1] This account (apart from some minor modifications) is based on and partly taken verbatim from notes supplied by Professor T. Andersson of the University of Texas (Andersson c. p.). For bibliography see Keesee (1960a). Consult also Andersson (1953), Birkmaier (1960), Alkonis and Brophy (1961), Breunig (1961) and Levenson (1961).

The prevailing opinion is that children learn languages better and more easily than adolescents and adults and that the place to start is in the elementary school. In practice, however, this adds to the cost of education, and even in those communities which are able to bear the extra cost there is a dirth of qualified teachers and uncertainty about the best teaching procedures.

U.S. language teaching finds itself then in a transitional stage, believing in the advantages of an early start in language learning but unable as yet to solve the many practical problems connected with such a vast programme. Informed opinion is certain that the traditional foreign language instruction has been altogether inadequate in U.S.A. beginning as it does at about grade 9 (age 14) and continuing for the vast majority of students for only two years. Something much more effective is required by the times.

The National Defense Education Act of 1958 has focused attention on the need for more speakers of the common languages (Spanish, French, German) and for greater knowledge of the less usual languages (such as Russian, Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, Portuguese). World War II and the years following have served to make Americans increasingly aware of their deficiencies in communicating with their neighbours abroad. (see Parker, 1962). At the same time, in Andersson's view, they are as a people convinced that knowledge of languages and an improvement in other means of communication must be achieved if humanity is to have any hope of realizing the two main objectives of our time, that is, freedom from war and freedom from want. The surveys of the Modern Language Association reveal that most programmes have been undertaken without adequate preparation. In some cases but by no means always a committee of teachers and interested citizens will study the total situation and present a report to the school board. Such reports usually reveal an active and even an overwhelming interest on the part of parents in having their children learn a second language. This initial enthusiasm is often enough to initiate a programme. There may be a teacher available or indeed in a larger community several, but these teachers are not necessarily well qualified. Indeed they are rarely trained to do this kind of teaching, for there exist in the country only a handful of universities which prepare competent elementary school teachers of modern foreign languages. Even when they are prepared, there exists no clear-cut provision for certifying or licensing them to teach. These facts plus the great mobility in the U.S.A. population make for a lack of continuity and progression in American elementary school language programmes.

A considerable number of foreign language teachers in the elementary schools are native teachers, but this fact in itself is no guarantee of good teaching. For many native speakers of foreign languages lack training in guiding children, and are unfamiliar with American schools. There is also a danger that such teachers, though not they alone, will regard language as writing rather than speaking.

There exists in U.S.A. a difference of opinion as to whether the classroom teacher or a specialist should be used to teach a foreign language. Classroom teachers have the advantage of knowing children better and having greater familiarity with the school procedures, but too often also lack an adequate knowledge of the language to be taught. Specialists are more likely to know the language adequately but too often are unsuccessful with children and unfamiliar with school practices.

The pros and cons of early language teaching in elementary schools

In the United States a great majority of educators and of the general public are convinced of the theoretical advantage of starting language learning early. However, many educators are deterred from beginning such a programme because of the extra cost, because they feel the curriculum is already overcrowded, because of the lack of qualified teachers and because of their uncertainty as to the best way to conduct such a programme. Enthusiasm is sufficient to outweigh these reservations in many communities.

Assessment

Only in very recent years has there been any significant evaluation of FLES programmes in the United States. In 1955 a programme of French was re-introduced into the University of Chicago Elementary School under the direction of Harold B. Dunkel and Roger A. Pillet. This programme was conceived in experimental terms and there has been a progress report at the end of each

year[2]) followed last year by a fuller evaluation in the form of a book entitled **French in the Elementary School, Five Years' Experience** (Dunkel and Piliet, 1962)
The authors conclude that

> "FLES is justified by both the qualitative and quantitative benefits it confers. By 'qualitative' we mean that the pupil in the early elementary grades has a chance to acquire the oral skills to a degree probably not attainable if he starts later. If being able to speak the foreign language with maximum fluency and accuracy of pronunciation are proper objectives for foreign language study, FLES makes a contribution which may be unique.
>
> By 'quantitative' we mean that FLES provides a span of additional years during which the pupil can work with the language. As we have indicated, we had hoped that on the basis of actual hours of contact with the language this increment from an early start would be larger in regard to some of the skills than it in fact proved to be. In general, however, our better students have had the equivalent of two high-school years of French at the grade-school level. It thus comes at a stage where they are particularly able to profit from exposure to the foreign language; conversely, those who do not wish longer experience with French can put the later time, thus freed, to some other use" (p. 140–41).

Somerville, New Jersey, has had a FLES programme beginning in the third grade, with French and Spanish in alternating years, over the last decade. When children who have had the experience of this programme reach the senior high school (ninth grade) and elect to continue study of the same language, they are assigned to an Enriched Language Pattern, a transitional course which enables them in the tenth grade to join the third-level of high school instruction. In the meantime high school students who begin their language learning in the ninth grade continue in the tenth grade at the second high school level, in what is called the Traditional Language Pattern. As a result of careful evaluation,

> "It was found that the pupils in the Enriched Language Pattern group achieved approximately 10 % higher grades (in high school Spanish III) than did the pupils of similar ability who were in the Traditional Language Pattern group, even though they were a year younger ... Pupils in the Enriched Language Pattern had had training which results in a 10 % better grade in any foreign language, new or continued. Further, this training advanced them one year in one subject in the high school, enabling them either to have an extra year of the language or to study an additional subject. This possibility is not open to the pupils in the Traditional Language Pattern."

The University of Illinois has since 1959 been conducting an experimental FLES programme in Spanish designed to measure the effectiveness of instruction under the guidance of a classroom teacher unfamiliar with Spanish by means of telecasts and tape recordings prepared by specialists and spoken by natives. This programme is compared with instruction given by specialist teachers of Spanish. Johnson, Flores, Ellison and Riestra (1962)[3]) have shown in the last of three preliminary reports that so far have been issued on this work that the group taught by the specialist teachers attains significantly superior scores in all Spanish achievement tests. Yet the scores of the group taught by TV and tape ranged from 64 % to 94 % of the scores attained by the group under specialist instruction and in some parts of the tests the differences between the means of the two groups were not significant. This suggests that while a good teacher is measurably preferable to audiovisual aids, teaching with the help of these aids can lead to a remarkably high standard of attainment, in conditions where a specialist is not available.

The Modern Language Project of the Massachusetts Council for Public Schools, Inc., 9 Newbury Street, Boston, 16, Massachusetts, is in its third year of operation. A FLES TV programme called **Parlons Francais** forms the central portion of this Project. Weekly TV lessons taught expertly by Mrs. Anne Slack, a native speaker of French, are supplemented by instruction by the classroom teachers in grades 4, 5 and 6.[4]) Dr. Ralph Garry and Dr. Edna Mauriello (1960, 1962) have been responsible for the experimental design and for the evaluation of this programme. The following are the most interesting conclusions from the summary of findings after the first year of operation:

---

[2]) See Dunkel and Pillet, 1956, 1957, 1959.

[3]) See also Ellison et al (1960) and Johnson et al (1961).

[4]) For particulars on **Parlons français** see chapter 19 below, p. 69.

"The total fluency of children (the combined score on comprehension, pronunciation and dialogue) was affected by differences in the fluency of the teacher. The classes directed by moderately fluent teachers obtained statistically significant higher mean scores than those directed by non-fluent teachers.

"Differences in kind of follow-up practice produced differences in total fluency. Practice directed by the teacher, whether by moderately fluent or non-fluent teachers, yields higher mean scores than practice based on use of tape-recordings taken from the sound-track of the television programmes."

"Not only did teacher-directed practice yield better fluency scores, but it also produced better comprehension of spoken French than did practice based on the tape-recordings . . .

"The results corroborate an earlier recommendation that televised instruction alone, without regular follow-up work by the classroom teacher, yields inadequate levels of achievement, particularly in comprehension and spontaneous usage of French."

Ralph C. Geigle, Superintendent, Reading Public Schools, Reading, Pennsylvania, in a study entitled "Foreign Language and Basic Learnings" (1957) seeks to determine whether the introduction of language instruction in the elementary school has an adverse effect on the learning of other subjects. He reaches this cautious conclusion: "the above is limited evidence and no belief is held that the evidence at this time provides an answer in finality to the question posed at the outset of this section. The evidence presented does argue in its limited way that the foreign language programme has not harmed the basic learnings programme."

The need for research

J. B. Carroll has repeatedly stressed (1960b, 1960c) the need for more and better research and experimentation in foreign language instruction. In an article entitled "Foreign Languages for Children: What Research Says", Carroll (1960c) points out the need to answer the following questions: Do children learn languages faster? When should FLES begin? How important are individual differences in foreign language aptitude? What are the long-term effects of FLES? What are the effects of FLES on other subjects? What are the most effective instructional techniques for FLES?

In the concluding chapter of their book **French in the Elementary School,** Dunkel and Pillet (1962) point out the need of tests to measure accurately the achievement of FLES pupils, the need of a greater mass of carefully prepared materials of all sorts to enrich and vary FLES instruction, the need of a grammar to summarize the usage which has been acquired by direct imitation and to make foreign language learners aware of the structure of the language involved. Better ways of determining the individual pupils' readiness for FLES are needed and of determining what kind of FLES programme an individual pupil is ready for; there is also a demand in U.S.A. for much more research on the psychology of language learning and on the effectiveness of various methods and procedures.

To these Andersson would add the need for investigating more thoroughly the difference between in-school and out-of-school learning and experimentation in various forms of out-of-school learning and a carefully conducted experiment sponsored by Unesco on the International Nursery School idea which he suggested in his article on "The Optimum Age for Beginning the Study of Modern Languages" (Andersson, 1960).5)

---

5) See also Andersson, 1961.

Chapter 13

Experiments in France

The teaching of English in some primary schools in Paris and the Paris region[1]

In Paris and the Paris region a number of primary schools have experimented with the teaching of English since 1956 under the direction of the Inspector for Foreign Languages in the Seine Department. The teachers were native English speakers, i. e. students from U.S.A., U.K. or the British Commonwealth who had come to France as assistants. In the first year (1956–57) the experiment began with two assistants; it was continued with four in 1957–58, six in the following year and eight in 1959–60. By 1961 some fifty classes ranging from Cours élémentaire (7–8 year old pupils) to Cours moyen (for pupils aged 10–11) were in operation in various boys' and girls' schools and one mixed school.

Efforts were made to benefit year by year from the experience of the preceding year and to modify the work accordingly. By 1959 sufficient data had been collected to establish a definite and progressive scheme of work suitable for young language learners. Throughout the period of the experiment the teachers regularly wrote diary notes on their work, first on a daily basis, and from 1957–58 fortnightly. The classes were frequently observed by the inspectors and tape recordings were made of the progress of the pupils. Furthermore there were regular meetings with the inspectors at which the experiences of the assistants were discussed and suggestions offered for further teaching.

Each class had about two or three weekly lessons of twenty minutes to half an hour. These lessons had to be accommodated within the existing timetable. Moreover the English assistants' own studies made it necessary to concentrate their teaching at the beginning of the week. Consequently there were gaps of about four or five days between each group of weekly lessons.

The language was taught entirely through an oral approach. Lesson work was based on centres of interest, games, dramatizations, songs and poems. For example by 1959 a number of little sketches had been worked out offering each a vocabulary increment of three to five words and two new sentence patterns. The sketches consisted of simple dialogues between the teacher and a little teddy bear. The procedure was as follows. First, the teacher spoke both parts, then the pupils joined in and, finally, the pupils performed the sketch independently. The lesson unit was completed by a game or a sketch in which the new elements were given additional practice.

Currently the aim in work of this kind is to teach 95 words and 52 patterns in the first year with the addition of 63 words and 50 patterns in the second and a further 56 words and 33 patterns in the third year. In other words, the pupil should have a total vocabulary of 214 words and 135 patterns by the time he reaches the first year of his secondary school.

The whole course in the primary school is looked upon as preparatory to the more systematic study of the language at the secondary stage of education. Difficulties were encountered. These can be attributed partly to the lack of accepted techniques of teaching languages at this level and partly to the lack of experience on the part of the young assistants who acted as teachers.

The best starting age has been found to be year two of the elementary course (for pupils aged 8-9). A lesson length of twenty minutes to half an hour is considered a maximum. Children showed excellent response to the sketch-type lesson with a stock character ('teddy bear'). The teaching of the beginners' classes was undoubtedly highly successful. In the second- and third-year groups results are less definite. Differences in ability become apparent and the teacher's task is made more complex by the inevitable arrival of pupils from other schools who have not had a year of English. The children increasingly demand explanations of a grammatical kind and want to write down what they hear. In short, this has been a valuable experiment which can be regarded as worth continuing with adjustments suggested by past experience.[2]

---

1) This section is based on notes supplied by M. Paul Féraud. (Féraud, c. p.) See also Féraud (1961).

2) The Centre de Recherches et d'Etudes pour la Diffusion du Français (CREDIF) has developed an audiovisual

The teaching of English at the nursery school level

Some attempts have been made in France to start English even earlier, namely at the nursery school.3) In the Paris schools this work also goes back to 1956 when the principal of a nursery school agreed to introduce English experimentally into the work of the senior group (five to six year olds). For about half an hour a day nursery activities were conducted in English. During this English period the teacher talked only in English, referred to nursery objects in English ("What is this?" "This is a wall."), gave instructions in English ("Stand up", "Sit down"), made use of dramatization and puppet work, or told a familiar story in English and in this way accustomed the children to the idea of another language as a medium of communication as valid as their own. Nursery rhymes in English and English song records were introduced. This one-year experiment was so encouraging that it was followed by another in a different school. In this case the English work after a successful year in the nursery conducted in a similar way to the one described was followed up by English work in the first year of the primary school under an English assistant. The work is now continued in the second year of the primary school and beginnings have been made to introduce reading and writing English. The experiment, successful though it has been, raises a number of questions concerning the lowest age at which one can profitably introduce a foreign language into nursery education, about the right kind of teacher, and about long-term effects of such teaching.

Another successful experiment in the teaching of English to nursery children is that of the nursery class of the **Ecole Active Bilingue – Ecole Internationale de Paris** where English is taught in an otherwise French-speaking nursery.4) This work was begun in 1954. It is preparatory to the English-French bilingual teaching of the school itself. In this nursery class the emphasis is not on 'teaching' English but on providing an English atmosphere with the help of stimulating English material which will have the effect of immersing the children into an 'English language bath' during the time set aside for English each day. It has been observed that the children without being fully aware of being confronted with another language learn to understand and to speak remarkably well. Thus one mother one day complained that her daughter had said that she had no English lessons, but three weeks later the same mother reported that, to her great surprise, she had overheard her little girl spontaneously chatting in English to her dolls.

What makes these experiments of outstanding interest is the fact that the second language is introduced at a pre-reading stage in the child's education. Here, therefore, the common experience of a negative influence of spelling conventions of the native tongue is met before it can arise. In the **Ecole Active Bilingue** children begin reading French in class one, i. e. after the nursery school stage. They learn to read French only. Meanwhile English activities begun in the nursery school (singing, painting, craftwork, dancing, etc. with English instruction) continue as an afternoon programme while the morning is devoted to French-medium instruction including reading. The reading of English is introduced only when the children already read French fluently. The general principle is that the teaching of the second language should be a step behind mother-tongue activities. Consequently the reading of English is normally introduced in cours élémentaire I, i. e. a year after the reading of French was begun. Normal work in the three R's in French is maintained throughout the primary years, so that the children maintain standards in French-speaking skills comparable to those of children taught in the normal monolingual schools. Some of the background of English children is introduced in the English part of the school day. In the final stages of primary education the children acquire specific knowledge concerning English-speaking countries, their traditions, geography and history.5)

---

course for young children. For particulars see chapter 19, p. 69, below. Consult also Gauvenet and Ferenczi (1961). For an example of research carried out at the CREDIF under the direction of G. Mialaret, see Malandain's study (no date) on the perception of filmstrip projections by children aged eight to twelve.

English at the primary level has been developed in the Arles region under the direction of J. Lonjaret, Inspector-General. This work has led to the production of an English course for young children; for particulars see the reference to Lonjaret and Denis, chapter 19, p. 69 below.

3) Based on Léandri and Féraud (1962).

4) Based on information received from Mme. R. C. Cohen, Principal, Ecole Active Bilingue "Ecole Internationale de Paris". (Cohen, c. p.)

5) See chapter 18 below for further data on this school.

Chapter 14

Experiments in the Federal Republic of Germany 1)

In Federal Germany the teaching of English in the majority of the **Länder** and of French in two is a widespread practice from the first year of secondary schools and the fifth grade of the elementary schools upwards. As a result many children, and in some areas all, have the opportunity to learn at least one foreign language from about the age of eleven. This spread of language teaching among the whole of the schoolgoing population is largely an outcome of developments since the second world war. It was realized soon after the war by German educationists that the German language had lost some of its international prestige and that a knowledge of foreign languages was of greatest importance to German postwar reconstruction.2)

Systematic experiments in the teaching of a foreign language to younger children have been mainly restricted to a project in Kassel (Hesse), which began in 1960 with two classes and a total of 60 pupils. In the following year it was extended to include 7 classes with 10 teachers and 245 pupils. For the year 1962–63 a further extension is envisaged to approximately ten schools with 16 to 18 classes or 360 pupils.

The teachers taking part in this experiment have qualifications in English and have already taught English to older classes. They have formed a discussion group to exchange views and experiences arising from this work, to consider questions of method and to strengthen their own linguistic competence.

Arguments for the experiment were twofold. On psychological grounds, it was thought that a nine-year-old is a better language learner than an older child. On grounds of educational organization it was argued that the introduction of the first foreign language in the third year of schooling would make it practicable to begin a second foreign language in the fifth year and for those children who learn only one foreign language the early start would provide a sufficiently long period of language work to make the learning of the language really effective.

The methods used in this experiment are predominantly oral and direct and, as far as possible, based on play situations, dialogue, role play, mime, puzzles and question-and-answer games. Also songs, rhymes, poetry, choral speaking and Gouin series are introduced. Little consecutive written work is done at the beginning of the courses. Pupils use large painting books and draw pictures with subtitles. Felt boards and wall pictures have also been employed. Grammatical facts are practised rather than explained. No homework is given, nor is any of the usual marking of work done. As textbook one of the **Beacon Reader** series (London: Ginn & Co.) with the appropriate workbook has been tried; some classes have used **Brighter English** by M. Direder (Garching: Heide Verlag).

It was found that frequent changes in the technique of teaching were necessary to overcome fatigue in the children. Half an hour's work per day has come to be regarded as the maximum lesson length in the early stages. Later a normal teaching period seems appropriate.

As far as can be said at present, the early start is valuable, but whether it justifies a re-organization of current practice for all schools, i. e. that English should generally be started in the third year instead of later, is still an open question. To answer it the experiment must be continued for a longer period. According to the available evidence it seems likely that the early start will justify itself.3)

---

1) Based on information supplied by the Kassel group on early language teaching, under the chairmanship of Professor G. Preissler (Preissler, c. p.).

2) See Schneider (1957) and **Pflege der fremden Sprachen (1962)**. Opposition to the spread of language instruction in Germany is discussed in a well documented recent article which makes a reasoned plea for universal teaching of foreign languages in all types of schools. (Doyé, 1962).

3) For a description of a bilingual school in Berlin see chapter 18 below, pp. 60—61.

Chapter 15

Experiments in the United Kingdom: England[1]

Language teaching in English schools

In England a distinction has to be made between local authority (county) schools (the "State system") and independent (e. g. preparatory and Public) schools (the "independent system").

In the **State system** a foreign language is normally not taught in primary schools. The convention is to start the first foreign language (usually French) at the beginning of the secondary school course, in particular in secondary grammar schools where French is taught in four- or five-year courses leading to the first public examination, the 'O' (Ordinary) level of the General Certificate of Education. A small number of pupils continue their language work beyond this level in a further course lasting two or three years and leading up to the 'A' (Advanced) level of the General Certificate of Education. For the majority of grammar school pupils contact with a foreign language, however, ceases after the 'O' level examination, i. e. at the age of sixteen or so. Further language work is possible, but it must be taken up voluntarily through evening classes or in private study.

Since the 1944 Education Act foreign languages have been increasingly taught also in other types of secondary schools (secondary modern, comprehensive and technical schools). It is estimated that at present about half of the population of children in secondary modern schools learn a foreign language. But all this takes place within the accepted convention of language learning at the secondary stage, i. e. from about twelve upwards until the age of fifteen or sixteen.

In the **independent system** there is a long established tradition of language learning from an early age. In preparatory schools (for pupils aged 7 to 12 or 13) Latin is frequently taught from seven upwards by drill methods rather in the style of old-fashioned arithmetic teaching, and – except in some – there has been a tendency to apply similar methods to French. This work has never acted as an encouragement to the introduction of languages into the State primary system. For example, children coming from the former State elementary schools (now primary schools) into grammar schools were frequently joined by children who had already had two, three or more years of French in their preparatory schools, and it was found that those who were beginners in French at the secondary level quickly reached the same standard as their contemporaries from the preparatory schools. Moreover the linguistic performance among those who have been through the independent system (preparatory and Public schools) is not superior to that which has been aquired by pupils in the State system in spite of the earlier start and the longer period of language learning in the independent system. Consequently the start of a foreign language at the beginning of the secondary course, i. e. at the age of twelve, has been widely accepted as right in English education.

Foreign languages in primary schools

The need for a better knowledge of foreign languages is recognized in England today. The view that English people are notoriously bad linguists is no longer accepted complacently. Outmoded methods, a stultifying examination system and too little time spent on language learning are often blamed for the low standards. A frequent criticism is the poor spoken command of the foreign language after four or five years of study.

As a result these criticisms educators have become interested in recent experiments in early language teaching. In principle the teaching of languages in primary schools was given official approval in a Ministry of Education pamphlet on the teaching of modern languages published in 1956 (Ministry of Education, 1956). But as late as 1959 a Ministry publication on the work of the primary school expressed itself with extreme caution about attempts to introduce languages in the curriculum of the primary school (Ministry of Education, 1959).

Since then, there has been a considerable change in the climate of opinion. In a number of areas experiments are taking place with the object in view to explore the feasibility of teaching languages to younger children. Much public interest has been aroused by an experiment in Leeds.

---

[1] Although this report refers mainly to England, the tendencies outlined in it apply by and large to the whole of the United Kingdom. Information based on notes by Miss. A. E. Adams (c. p.) and H. H. Stern (c. p.) and others listed below. For Wales see chapter 9 above.

Foreign Language Teaching in Leeds Primary Schools, 1961–1962[2]

In co-operation with the Nuffield Foundation, the Leeds Education Committee has been carrying out an experiment in the teaching of a foreign language to pupils of primary school age. The first stage of this experiment took place in the spring and summer of 1961. A bilingual teacher, Mrs. Kellermann, taught French to a specially selected group of ten boys and ten girls, aged 10 to 11, of good intelligence and ability, who had qualified for entrance to grammar schools in the city in September of that year. In a pleasantly situated school in a good residential part of Leeds Mrs. Kellermann was supplied with plenty of visual and audiovisual aids and books ordered from France, and taught the pupils for ten weeks about 17 hours per week (21 teaching periods varying in length from 40 minutes to 1½ hours).

The underlying principles of the teaching methods employed in both the first and second stages of the experiment have been these: (1) an oral approach to language, in which the pupils are not presented with the written word in the early weeks;[3] (2) the presentation of language units as a complete sequence of sounds, i. e. as a phrase or sentence rather than as individual words (the normal speed of speech is used by the teacher from the start); (3) the use of audiovisual aids involving tape recorder and filmstrip projector (Tavor Aids); (4) the use of activities such as games, songs, acting, so that sentences in the language are related to situations in which the pupil is involved; (5) the use of the language as a means of communication in learning other subjects, such as history, geography, arithmetic and poetry; (6) virtually no formal grammar, except what can be explained in the language; (7) work on or in the language for a considerable part of each day in school, so that the children are soaked in the language.

Observers who visited the class after two months were impressed with the achievement. They noted in particular (1) the fluency and accuracy of pronunciation and intonation, (2) the children's ability to understand French spoken rapidly, (3) their eagerness to speak in French and to answer questions, (4) their wide vocabulary which was not confined to the objects in the classroom but ranged over the children's activities outside school and (5) the children's evident enjoyment of their work and their interest in France and the French. (Taylor, 1962)

The children were aware of the experimental character of the work and co-operated wholeheartedly. Mrs. Kellermann attributes much of the success to this high level of motivation among the children.

The special interest of the second stage in the experiment, which started in March 1962, is that, instead of the ideal conditions with which the earlier work was favoured, normal classroom conditions were used with unselected children. With classes of up to 36 pupils whose range of I.Q.'s went down to 72, teachers who were not bilingual were endeavouring to work along the same lines as Mrs. Kellermann did in the first stage. Five primary schools in different parts of the city had been selected for the teaching of French. Usually the classes had nine to ten hours of French each week. Again use was made of the period between the secondary school selection tests in February and entrance to the secondary school in September. All these pupils were ten to eleven years old and went on to grammar or modern schools in September. In one further school Italian was started with a class of nine-year-olds by a teacher who originally had learnt Italian by attending evening classes.

The methods used were similar to those employed in the first part of the experiment. However, the use of English to introduce a topic or to explain was not so rigorously ruled out. Tavor Aids were more frequently employed. Activities included acting, games, puppets, songs and drawing. These, it has been found, accord well with the activity methods which are generally in use in the best English primary schools. Pupils take it for granted that they will be required to act, to make, to perform rather than simply to sit, to listen and to write. Although it is too early to draw any definite conclusions from these experiments, impressions again are favourable. Even pupils of

---

2) Based on information supplied by Mr. D. H. Harding, University of Leeds, Mrs. M. Kellermann, and Mr. G. Taylor, Chief Education Officer, Leeds. (Harding, c. p.; Kellermann, c. p.; Nuffield Foundation, c. p.; Taylor, 1962).

3) The first fortnight in the first stage experiment.

less than average intelligence benefit a great deal from these language classes and learn successfully.

Other experiments

Up and down the country a number of similar teaching experiments in primary schools are taking place and an increasing number of local education authorities show interest in starting a foreign language in their primary schools. Reports received include schools in Lancashire, Warwickshire, Surrey and West Sussex. A new experimental audiovisual course by Mary Glasgow, recently published,⁴) was based on work under the guidance of Mr. S. R. Ingram with primary school children in London from the age of eight. The British Bilingual Association which has advocated an early approach to foreign languages for many years has recently issued teaching notes on **Teaching French in Primary Schools.**⁵)

---

4) For particulars see chapter 19 below, p. 69.
5) For particulars see also chapter 19, p. 69.

Chapter 16

Experiments in Argentina [1]

In Argentina children start their primary education at the age of six and have either morning or afternoon school for seven years before starting their secondary education. Primary education is compulsory and State controlled. The curriculum is the same for all primary schools in the country.

Until two years ago languages were not taught at all in the primary schools. It was then that a few pilot schools were started where children, attending classes morning and afternoon, were given twenty minutes daily tuition in English. This was a new departure and no results can as yet be reported. The main drawback which complicates the task is the lack of qualified teachers and of a properly drawn up syllabus.

The experiment is being carried out because it was thought that waiting until pupils had reached the secondary school was putting off language learning for too long: for many it was then a bore and very few ever learnt a language properly at school.

However, foreign languages have been taught to young children in Argentina for a long time; most private schools teach languages from the very beginning, starting in the kindergarten. Children study English in the afternoon for about three hours and Spanish in the morning.

At the Asociación de la Cultura Inglesa young children (aged seven and older) have been taught since 1927. They learn English for six years three times a week for periods of forty-five minutes, exactly the same length of time that would be devoted to the teaching of a foreign language in a primary school. They go to a primary school either in the morning or in the afternoon, which means that they work harder than their school fellows at the compulsory primary school. This extra work seems to do them no harm; on the contrary, most of them are excellent pupils at school.

The teachers of the Asociación de la Cultura Inglesa receive special training at various teachers' training colleges. Most of them become primary teachers first and then take up training in the teaching of foreign languages.

In this work our informant, Miss de Barrio, has put into use the graded material for a first course of English worked out by Mr. Ronald Mackin of the School of Applied Linguistics, Edinburgh. This follows quite closely the structures used by British children in their early years, satisfying needs such as expressing the idea of possession, pointing to things, establishing relations between people, asking simple questions, etc.

Questions are postponed for quite some time with very good results: children learn to say things by themselves without the help of a question. A sequence such as

That is Tom.
He is a boy.
He is my friend.
That is his dog.
It's brown and white, etc.

is normal for them before they can answer: "What's this?"

Ungraded material is used alongside the graded. Flashcards are used in class, very often long before pupils start writing. Pupils can read quite a large number of sentences they have yet to learn how to write. Writing is not started until the structures and elements are known so well that the written word will not break up the learning process. Games, puppets and acting are used as aids in the classroom; these respond well to the children's natural inclinations and support their language learning.

---

[1] Based on a report by Miss de Barrio (c. p.).

Chapter 17

Language teaching experiments in Soviet nursery schools

In the USSR two kinds of experience are relevant to the present discussion: (1) the teaching of Russian as a second language in those republics of the Federation in which the principal language is one of the national languages of the Union, or conversely the teaching of the national language as a second language in a Russian-medium school. In either case the second language is normally taught from the first or second grade upwards. (2) the experimental teaching of a foreign language at the preschool level in nursery schools, especially in Leningrad.1)

According to Ginsberg (1960) who has reported on this work, teaching a foreign language to preschool children is not a regular practice, but an experiment and a subject for investigation, because, as she rightly points out, the literature on language teaching is divided on the value of an early start. In 1957 three nursery schools in Leningrad carried out experiments in the teaching of foreign languages to preschool children at the instigation of the Departments of Foreign Languages and Preschool Education in the Herzen Teacher Training Institute.

The children who were five to six years old belonged to the intermediate and senior groups of the nursery school. Their foreign language activities lasted half an hour a day three times a week. The size of the experimental groups ranged from 13 to 15 in one to 28 and 30 in another. The success of the experiment seemed to be unaffected by the size of the group.

Basic principles of method had to be worked out by preliminary discussion and practical experience. Thus it was soon discovered that the attention of five- to six-year-olds would rapidly shift and that they would tire quickly of formal repetitive work, but that they could learn the sounds and syntax of a foreign language with remarkable ease. It was therefore decided to base the foreign language lessons on play activities, to create artificially an approximation of the conditions under which a child learns his native language and to avoid grammatical explanation.

On the question of whether it would be possible to teach children separate words or whether all the work should be based on the sentence as the elementary unit, opinions were divided. It was therefore decided to experiment with different approaches to this problem. Two of the nursery schools – one teaching French, the other English – employed a mixed method of introducing whole sentences as well as isolated words. These nursery schools used Lotto, pictures and real objects and one, the French nursery school, made use of various games activities in the course of which two or three new words were easily practised in each lesson. At the end of the practice period the children in these two kindergartens had a large stock of words, they could name their toys, various objects in the room, items of clothing, etc. They could also answer questions and reproduce the sentences they had learnt. At the final test the children recited, sang and acted. The results indicated the preschool child's remarkable receptivity for another language.

However, in spite of their considerable stock of words and sentence patterns they were unable to adapt what they had learnt outside the set context. This stood in contrast to the more effective method tried out with the third group, a German group, in which a sentence method was employed in the following manner.

Simple dramatized situations were worked out, e. g. "The laundry", or "The sick bunny rabbit". In this sketch, for instance, the sick toy rabbit was sitting in his basket and crying. This led to sentence patterns of the kind "The rabbit is sitting," This pattern was then modified by simple substitution, e. g.

"The doll is sitting"
"The girl is sitting"
"The boy is sitting"

Then the verb was modified by substituting "is standing", "is talking", etc. for "is sitting". The same sentence patterns were frequently practised.

The subsequent analysis showed that this method is more effective than that of the other two kindergartens. It was further underlined how valuable the visual stimulus is, e. g. toys, objects in

---

1) A third experience also related to the current discussion is referred to below, see chapter 18.

the room and pictures. But here again it is necessary to emphasize how much depends on the way they are used. If the toys are really used to stimulate actions, role play sequences and activity games (pretending to get up, dress, wash, etc.) the language becomes part of the young child's life. Without that they are just a useless and unintegrated vocabulary. This combined use of materials and language stimulates the young child's remarkable imitative capacities.

In a continuation of this experiment the same teachers taught by similar methods they had employed in the nursery class second-grade and fourth-grade pupils. The fourth-graders needed more intensive and systematic pronunciation practice and grammar drill than the nursery children. They thought it was 'odd', for example, that wall (in Russian a feminine word) was masculine in French and thought that Russian 'was better'. The second grader occupied an intermediate position between these two attitudes. On this experiment the preliminary conclusion was reached that

> "preschool children learn a foreign language much more rapidly, better and more permanently than children of school age. Therefore, it is desirable to begin the study of languages in kindergarten if the study of the same language is continued when the child enters school, even if it is continued only as extracurricular work. Continuing lessons to develop oral speech habits will help the children really to learn to speak a foreign language. The theoretical course which today requires such enormous efforts of fifth graders will then be a natural continuation of the speech habits which the children have acquired, plus a theoretical foundation for those habits." (Ginsberg, 1960, p. 24.)

Chapter 18

International, bilingual and multilingual schools

In recent years international, bilingual or multilingual schools have been created in a number of countries. Several of these schools respond to the practical needs of international communities which develop round the United Nations Organization, Unesco, or – in the European context – round the Common Market, the Coal and Steel Community or Euratom, and similar organizations. In adddition, the motives for the foundations are largely educational. It is hoped that through such schools children will learn to live with the members of other nations and will be brought up in an international spirit. Moreover, it is agreed among linguists that a foreign language learned conventionally as a secondary school subject does not provide the necessary contact hours to reach a high level of perfection. Consequently this difficulty is overcome here by making the second language a medium of instruction.

In the Soviet Union a number of schools[1]) have set up classes in which a foreign language, e. g. French, German, Spanish, English, Chinese, Hindi or Urdu, increasingly becomes the medium of instruction. There is an English-French bilingual international school in Paris, a German-American school in West Berlin and an international school (the Ecole internationale SHAPE) at St. Germain, near Paris. The European schools include the pilot school in Luxembourg, founded in 1953, two schools in Belgium, one at Brussels, founded in 1958, and another at Geel/Mol, founded in 1960, and lastly, a school in Italy at Ispra (Varese), also established in 1960.

The Alliance Israélite Universelle (A.I.U.) has a history of multilingual schooling since its foundation in 1860. It is a policy of this body to promote the teaching of French as a foreign language or as a medium of instruction in its schools in North Africa and the Middle East, because the A.I.U. considers French as the best medium to introduce the learner to present-day thinking. Hebrew is taught as the indispensable language of judaism and Arabic as the language of the countries of which many of the pupils of A.I.U. schools are nationals. This trilingualism has been justified by the expression of aims of the A.I.U., viz: "former les meilleurs hommes, former les meilleurs juifs, former les meilleurs citoyens, les meilleurs membres de la société" (René Cassin)[2]). In most of these schools, the question of preparing the ground for bilingual or multilingual facility arises in the primary stages of education. They have also to cope with the problem of using the second language as a medium of teaching. Thus the experience of these schools is relevant to our discussion.

The Ecole Active Bilingue: Ecole Internationale de Paris[3])

The population of pupils at this school consists of approximately 435 aged from three to eleven year old children, who can be divided into three main linguistic groups: French-speaking children, English-speaking children and bilingual (French-English) children. There are also a few pupils who come to the school with no knowledge of either French or English. The school was opened in 1954 with fifteen pupils in response to the demands of French parents who wanted their children to speak English from an early age. It also met the needs of foreign, especially English-speaking, families who wanted their children to be in French school surroundings without losing contact with English. The school quickly attracted the attention of many young parents who believed that international understanding and a knowledge of foreign languages was important in the world today. Though independent, the school is recognized and aided by the French Ministry of Education and recognized also by Unesco as the **Ecole Internationale de Paris.**

The school is entirely conducted as a primary school. Secondary classes which had been started have now become the **Classes Internationales Bilingues** of the **Lycée de Sèvres.** The official French curriculum is taught throughout the primary classes. How English is introduced and taught is shown in the following daily schedule of a five-day week (Monday to Friday):

---

[1]) According to one report, 25 in Moscow and 130 in other parts of the Union.

[2]) Based on information obtained by M. Aboudaram from M. Aref Rahmani, directeur de la Grande Ecole de Teheran. (Rahmani, c. p.).

[3]) Based on the report by Madame R. C. Cohen, Directrice of the school. (Cohen, c. p.). See also ch. 13 above.

Class and age	School hours per day	Time allowed for English per day	Subject
Kindergarten 1 (3 to 4)	3	45 min.	Nursery vocabulary through games, rhymes, songs.
Kindergarten 2 (4 to 5)	3	45 min.	ditto
11ème (5 to 6)	5	2 hours	Centres of interest corresponding to those in the French elocution class, built up around manual and artistic work. Folklore, stories of English-speaking countries.
10ème (6 to 7)	5	1 hour	Reading, spelling. History and geography of English-speaking countries.
9ème (7 to 8)	6	1 hour	ditto plus short texts and writing.
8ème (8 to 9)	6	1 hour	ditto
7ème (9 to 10)	6	1 hour	ditto plus accurate translations
6ème (10 to 11)	6	1 hour	ditto
5ème (11 to 12)	6	1 hour	ditto

As can be seen from this schedule, children begin to learn English as a second language as soon as they enter kindergarten and continue until they leave in the seventh class. On entry they are divided into separate groups for English in accordance with their proficiency. The school has a bilingual "B" group and a group of children who are beginners or have only a limited knowledge of English, the "C" group. Children who enter the school after the ninth class without any knowledge of English go into an "Adaptation class" until they can join group "C". In the same way children from group "C" advance to "B" when they are ready for it.

The aim is to give children an oral knowledge of the language and thus to develop a natural sense of grammar before they begin to read and write English. Lessons are very active and close to the normal experience of children. Simple songs, games, rhymes, dialogues and activities predominate in the early stages. Throughout the school there is a daily English lesson. Repetition is regarded as important. The number of words introduced is limited to five per day. The number of children in the kindergarten classes is restricted to 12 or 15, in class 11 to 20, beyond that to 25 or 30. The English teacher is, so far as possible, trained and a native English speaker. She need not herself be bilingual but should have some command of French. The school aims at providing an English native teacher for the English classwork and a French native teacher for the lessons conducted in French.

The results of the work at this school have not yet been systematically assessed. But impressions are entirely positive. The pupils have done well in all their French subjects and in addition have acquired a remarkable proficiency in English.4)

---

4) For further details on the approach to English at this school see above p. 49.

L'Ecole Internationale SHAPE, St. Germain[5]

This school founded in 1952 has received children from a dozen or so different nationalities between the ages of four and eighteen. It offers nursery, primary and secondary classes to baccalauréat level, and an education predominantly in French, but in addition also in the children's various national languages. Of a thirty-hour timetable twenty-four are taught through the medium of French (mathematics, natural sciences, modern and ancient languages, etc.) and six hours are devoted to the national languages and countries, their history and geography.

In order to enable children to follow the French-medium courses they attend a three-months special French course. This intensive course, given by specialist teachers, is based on français fondamental; audio-visual aids, games, songs and dramatization are employed in accordance with the age of the children.

In the experience of the SHAPE school the best age for the introductory French course is between eight and nine. Those who come to the school in order to become pupils in the primary part of the school are usually ready after the three-month period. Older children may take another three months or need, for some time, special help from a teacher acting as tutor. But after one year the average child is well settled and after two years the foreign children often outclass their French contemporaries. Thus, for example in 1961, eight German boys were entered for the first part of the baccalauréat, all passed and four with distinctions.

The European School in Luxembourg[6]

The European School in Luxembourg was established in 1953 on the initiative of officers of the European Coal and Steel Community with support from the Community and the Luxembourg government. Founded as a private school it was progressively built up to take pupils through a full primary and secondary school course. The school was the first to receive intergovernmental recognition which entitled it to examine pupils for the "European baccalaureate", which is a qualifying examination in the six countries. This examination was taken for the first time in 1959. Courses leading up to it, syllabuses, methods and timetables are, however, not yet fully settled. Admission to the school is not confined to children of officers of the European Community but is extended to other children, e. g. of embassy staffs, and of foreign workers living in Luxembourg, so that the population of the school is international. But children from the six countries of the European Community are predominant.

The language policy is as follows. The school recognizes four basic languages: French, German, Italian and Dutch. Every child belonging to one of these four linguistic groups receives his basic education in the mother tongue (including literature, history and civilization), but must add to that the study of other European languages and of their contribution to European life and culture. Moreover, through the life of the Community and out-of-school activities the child lives in an international setting.

In the five-year primary school there are classes for each language group, so that every child learns the three R's in his native language but in accordance with a common course of study and timetable. In addition every child learns from the first year upwards a second language, i. e. one of the so-called 'complementary' languages ('complémentaire' or 'véhiculaire'), either French or German.[7] Thus a French child will learn German and a German child French. An Italian child would have the choice between French and German. The second language is taught right through the primary school for an hour per day in a five-day weekly timetable. The language is taught mainly by oral methods. Grammar is taught incidentally and translation is taboo. Activity methods, including games, craftwork, puppets and records and above all the living contact with children of different linguistic communities further stimulate language learning at the school.

In the first year of the secondary part of the school, studies in the second language are intensified so that from the second year upwards pupils can take part in courses conducted in that language. English is added in the third year of the secondary course, and one of the Community languages is added in the fourth year.

---

[5] Based on a note by Monsieur Tallard, Directeur de l'Ecole Internationale SHAPE (Tallard, c. p.).

[6] Based on a paper by Professor E. Ludovicy, read at the FIVSP conference, Vienna, 1962 (Ludovicy 1962).

[7] Strictly speaking, there should be four, but this would have complicated timetable difficulties beyond all practical possibilities.

Results are as yet hard to assess. It is claimed that school leavers with the European Baccalaureate are better linguists, have a better general education and are imbued with a more international spirit than their contemporaries in the national systems. On the other hand, they are said to have certain deficiencies in the sciences and mathematics and gaps in their knowledge of national literature and history. There are undoubtedly difficulties which are still to be overcome, nevertheless the European schools offering a mixture of national and international education with a second language added from the start represent a noteworthy educational experiment.

German-American Community School, Berlin-Dahlem (GACS)[8]

This school was founded in October 1960 as a public elementary school under the Berlin Board of Education, with a joint advisory committee consisting of six American and six German members. It aims at furthering international understanding.

The GACS is still in a stage of development. It offers a preparatory kindergarten class and grades one to six. About half the pupils attending the school are German and half American. Only few of the children (between 5 % and 8 %) have grown up bilingually in their own homes. Instruction in basic subjects is provided in both languages and besides this there are courses intended to enable pupils who have to transfer to their own national schools to make this adjustment easily.

By spring 1962 the school consisted of four classes: two kindergarten (preparatory) classes, one first and one third grade. Of one hundred pupils who were then enrolled 50 were American, 4 British or Canadian, and 46 German. The staff consisted of one American and five German teachers with educational experience in US or English schools.

The school enables children of kindergarten age (5 to 6), already in the preparatory class, to gain experience in the other language. The staff at GACS believe that language training cannot be started too early. The 'functional' and the 'intentional' approaches to foreign language learning are both used in the preparatory class; but at this early stage functional learning predominates. Children become familiar with each other's language mainly through being together with boys and girls speaking the other language. But learning is not restricted to this; the teachers gradually introduce systematic work in both languages: songs and nursery rhymes, explained in both languages, are frequently repeated, accompanied by appropriate expressive movements, and eventually learnt by heart. This enriches the vocabulary and improves pronunciation, intonation and rhythm in the two languages. However, it is felt that there is a lack of suitable material for this purpose.

A session (as usual in German schools there is morning school only) in the bilingual preparatory class for five to six year olds would be divided up roughly as follows:

Length of daily session:	8.45 to 12.30
8.45 to 9.35	Morning gathering. Children are counted in both languages. News time: children tell each other their news and events. Songs or rhymes previously learned. Story time or introduction of new unit. Strengthening and enlarging of vocabulary.
9.35 to 10.40	Arts and crafts project related to theme of day or week, including painting, drawing, modelling, cutting out, etc.
10.40 to 11.30	Break-time (with mid-morning snack) and free play. When children have finished their snack, they clear up, look at picture books or play.
11.30 to 12.30	Short walk round the neighbourhood or games in the classroom, gymnasium or in the school playground. Practice of new songs. End of school session.

After a few weeks in the preparatory class children begin to understand simple words, phrases and idioms in the other language and soon start using them by imitation. But all children do not (and cannot be expected to) understand everything that might be said in both languages after a period of six months or even after a year of this preparatory language training and experience.

---

[8] Based on a report by Udo Bewer and Kurt Spangenberg, Berlin (Bewer and Spangenberg, c. p.).

Therefore it may happen that a story told or read has to be repeated in the other language and a problem is how not to disrupt the sequence of the story or to lose the children's interest.

From the first grade instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, social studies, creative skills as well as music and physical education is given in both languages. Without the bilingual training in the preparatory class this would be impossible.

It has proved necessary, however, to teach the native language to first graders in separate groups. This is planned in such a way that each group has one lesson per day in its own language. For the remaining three hours per session all children work in either language as means of instruction in units concerned with arithmetical topics, the promotion of creative and musical abilities and physical education. The GACS has introduced fifteen minute periods in the first grade and whole days in the third grade when only one of the two languages is spoken.

The history of the GACS is too short to report results. But the promoters of this work believe that a systematic evaluation of this experiment (as well as of other similar ones) would be very helpful to the further development of bilingual or international schools.

PART III

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PRACTICE AND RESEARCH

Chapter 19

Introducing a language in the primary school

The foregoing descriptions and the considered experience of those who have been responsible for language teaching in the primary school indicate a remarkable consensus of opinion. Group II at the Hamburg conference, which consisted of those participants who had taught, or organized the teaching of, languages in primary schools, was able to frame in the group report agreed suggestions based on their experience. These will be included in the present chapter.[1])

As was pointed out by the Hamburg conference, two important reservations have to be made in indicating trends and offering suggestions.

(1) Conditions, aims and needs vary so much in different communities that it is not possible to derive from current experience recommendations which are universally applicable. All that can be done is to indicate what on the basis of present-day thinking and experience appears to be necessary for the "successful organization and implementation of a policy that aims at presenting children with knowledge of a second language as a part of their primary education. The degree to which such suggestions can be implemented will, of necessity, depend on local conditions and resources."

(2) A second proviso is that current experience is not yet supported by many follow-up studies or by evidence from a sufficient amount of adequately controlled research. Much of the experience gathered is limited and of relatively recent origin. The need for further investigations of all kinds is recognized. It was, indeed, one of the objects of the Hamburg conference to study these research requirements.[2]) As research into these problems will be completed and more experience will have been gathered existing viewpoints will no doubt be modified. The trends described and the suggestions offered are based on recent experience and current opinion and must be read or used with these limitations in mind.

Explaining the new policy

If the arguments presented in Part I of this report are valid most educational systems will find it necessary to introduce a second language in their primary curriculum in order to achieve this completion of basic literacy in the modern world. But it must be realized that in many countries a move in this direction will mean a break with educational traditions and conventions. It may encounter scepticism or even active opposition from teachers and parents. Primary teachers may, for example, argue that the timetable is already overcrowded. Language teachers in the secondary school may say that they prefer to start teaching a language from scratch, and some parents may raise questions about overburdening children. These and other queries must be carefully considered and public opinion in a community must be given an opportunity to understand the reasons for the new policy and to become convinced of its value and practicability.

Two particular aspects in language teaching in the primary school need emphasizing: (1) Since the language is started early and can be continued as long as schooling lasts, language habits are given time to develop. (2) The start in the primary school should give children "a new means of communication, with emphasis on the spoken language". In laying stress on habit, communication and oral skill, other facets of language (e. g. access to literature and culture, or a conceptual understanding of language) are not rejected. It is merely affirmed that the relatively unselfconscious command of the second language is the specific contribution that can be expected from an early linguistic education of children at the primary level.

---

[1]) Quotations without reference are taken from this report.

[2]) See Introduction p. 8 above, and Chapter 20 below.

Choice of language

What needs thorough examination beyond the principle of a language for everybody from the primary stage onwards is the question as to which language or languages to choose for such intensive treatment. The main criterion should probably be the value of the language to the community as a whole and to the individuals in it as a means of communication now or in the future. The expenditure of time and effort in this direction must be recognized as a worthwhile experience within the primary school programme and, at the same time, as a valuable foundation for later learning, and continued use.

The need for planning

Language teaching in the primary school must be as carefully planned as any other part of the programme. Attention has to be given to the starting age or stage in the primary course, as well as to the teaching time and the staff to be set aside for language instruction. The groups to be included have to be defined; the content and methods of teaching to be decided and the question to be answered: what materials, books and other aids can be put at the disposal of the schools? From the outset it is also important to ensure continuity and progression as well as follow-up beyond the primary level. A programme at the primary school must, therefore, be planned in conjunction with receiving schools. Language work, inevitably, involves financial outlay, a setting aside of material and human resources. A voluntary research group of teachers, inspectors and linguists, planning and guiding this work in its initial stages, is likely to be of great benefit to a local effort but it must be clearly stated that it alone cannot guarantee a successful programme if the necessary material conditions for language work are not created.

Time for the second language

The time that will be allowed for a second language in the primary school curriculum is likely to depend on the degree of urgency and the level of expected bilingual command. Reports on time allocation suggest a variety of possibilities. Results so far reported do not, as yet, lead to any definite recommendations. Experience is available with short intensive 'special' or 'crash' courses; with small amounts of daily time (10 to 15 minutes a day); an hour a day; or more irregular timing, also afternoon lessons outside school hours. As a general principle the Hamburg conference recommended "an adequate time allocation every day" without determining what may be considered as adequate. The overwhelming experience is in favour of daily practice even if it is short, and on the whole, favours the regular but brief lesson period, lasting 30 minutes or less. This advice is based on commonsense psychology of work or memory. If the time of the lesson period is too long the attention of the children cannot be maintained at a useful level; and if the interval between the lessons is too great and too irregular the children would tend to forget the work previously learnt. What the right time allocation should be is certainly a problem which requires investigation; but pending it the recommendation of regular brief daily lessons can serve as a practical guide to fit the language into the timetable, unless there are other good reasons for a different arrangement.

There is, however, widespread agreement that it is desirable to increase the number of contact hours with the second language "by teaching other subjects and/or conducting some extra curricular activities through the medium of the second language". The value of this is demonstrated wherever the language is used partially or exclusively as a medium of instruction. This arrangement offers pupils an opportunity to use the language as a means of communication without paying too much attention to linguistic processes and in this way to practise the new language in functional situations. In bilingual countries, in international schools, and in educational systems in which the second language is used as the language of instruction, such opportunities are naturally given. How to extend these advantages to those systems in which the language is learnt as a foreign language is a problem on which experiments are needed. One can well visualize the possibility of inviting exchange teachers to come and teach their own subjects (e. g. geography, physical education or arts and crafts) through the medium of their own language. Some members of the Hamburg conference considered it desirable "to have exchanges of teachers on a large scale in order to build up a supply of bilingual teachers for the future".

Starting age

The starting age must depend on what we intend to achieve. The Hamburg conference rightly pointed out that "the child can begin to acquire a second language as soon as he attends school" or "even in kindergarten". The more urgently an early knowledge and a full command of the second language are needed the earlier should probably be the start. As was shown on p. 32 different starting ages have been reported from various countries, ranging from 5 or below to 10. Whatever the reasons stated for starting at a particular age in the educational career, there are, as far as we know, no reasons why children should not start languages early or at any time during their primary school years. The experience available shows that children can make an effective start at all ages from the nursery school onwards.

Where no immediate urgency dictates a very early start the age to begin language instruction can therefore be decided on grounds of educational expediency. The main problem here is one of phasing of the learning of the second language in relation to learning to read and write the vernacular. Satisfactory results have been reported from systems in which children start a second language before literacy, simultaneously with it and following the acquiring of reading and writing the vernacular. Some experience suggests that oral command of the second language may well precede the learning of reading and writing the native language but that it is advisable to delay reading and writing the second language until the process of reading and writing in the vernacular is securely established.

However, certain circumstances may arise in which this may not be the appropriate phasing. Thus if the vernacular would not in fact be the language in which the child will be educated, it may be wasteful, and confusing even, to begin to teach him to read and write the vernacular before he starts reading and writing the second language.[3] In deciding these issues it is best – before more precise information is available – to base one's judgment on unprejudiced experimentation and the observation of results rather than on purely logical considerations or questions of language prestige.[4]

The Teachers

The task of teaching a second language to young children is skilled work. Those administrators who place too much reliance on the young child's capacity to learn another language may be misled into belittling the high level of knowledge and technique that is required from the teacher. Experience has clearly shown that enthusiasm alone and improvisation cannot sustain the effort to achieve worthwhile results. Difficulties have been encountered when primary teachers have ventured into this new field of activity with an insufficient command of the second language. The children under those circumstances have been trained in wrong linguistic habits. Even if native speakers of the second language are available, they are not inevitably ideal for this job. They may not understand the problems of learning their L1 as an L2. This is why the Hamburg conference recommended:

"All teachers of L2 should have good command of the language and be a good model for pronunciation. They should also have knowledge of the pupils' L1. Where possible, native speakers should be invited to contribute to the teaching of L2, especially in the lower grades."

But the good language teacher at this level must not only be a competent linguist, he must also be familiar with teaching children at the primary level. Native speakers of an L2 are often unfamiliar with the school system of the country and its approach to children in the primary school. Even language teachers in secondary schools find that the teaching of children at the primary level may be a new and unaccustomed task to which much of their previous experience is not applicable.

The demand for teachers who are good linguists and skilled in primary teaching is likely to exceed by far the available supply of those who can meet these requirements. What is to be done under these circumstances?

---

[3] "Some members (of the Hamburg conference) think that the child should first acquire the basic mechanism for reading and writing L1 before starting to read and write L2. Others think that where the reading process is more easily mastered in L2 than L1 it should be introduced in L2. All members agree that it should be introduced in one language only."

[4] For discussion of the age factor, see also pp. 22—24 and pp. 77—78 especially no. 4—7. On phasing see ch. 8.

Training for teaching languages

In the long run the obvious solution is one of training of teachers for language teaching at the primary level. Such training should contain as essential components:

"(a) training in the teaching of the age group which they will be expected to teach;

(b) training in the methodology of teaching and using L2 as a second language, not merely as a first language;

(c) training in the appreciation of the culture associated with L2."

Quite apart from a specific training of primary-school language teachers, countries which adopt a policy of universal L2 teaching in the primary school must make a second language a regular part of their teacher training courses. It stands to reason that, if we expect all children to acquire a second language, teachers must not be left behind and training colleges which offer no language courses will become an anomaly.

Meeting the immediate demand

Without waiting for the training of teachers to be adjusted to this new situation there are short-term measures that can be taken. The experienced primary teacher who is a poor linguist can be helped on the language side by mechanical aids, tape recorders, discs, filmstrips, teaching notes and the services of a travelling adviser in language teaching. The deficiencies of native speakers of L2 or of linguists unaccustomed to young children can be made good by short training courses, careful guidance and supervision, and the help of teaching notes.

The smaller the number of teachers readily available who are both linguists and trained for primary teaching, the more urgently should priority be given to the development of teaching materials, teaching notes and mechanical aids. Some recently produced courses with teaching materials, audiovisual aids, workbooks and notes indicate what in particular teaching situations has been done to bring serviceable materials and detailed practical aid to the teacher and to make up for a defective language knowledge through the use of mechanical devices.[5] Funds and facilities may not in many countries be adequate to be able to bring into operation all the aids and mechanical devices. Nevertheless it should be possible to arrange for one or the other form of material, recorded on disc or tape, to be available in training institutions and therefore to secure among language teachers an accepted standard of pronunciation and oral usage.

Content and method

The teaching of languages to children in primary schools differs markedly from the approach to language teaching at the secondary stage. It is also different from the methods that have been customary in older forms of teaching a second language to young children.

The traditional grammar-translation method, with its emphasis on translation from and into the foreign language, its drilling of grammatical paradigms of nouns, verbs, prepositions and the like, its learning of isolated words, and textbooks with complicated exercises – all this is universally rejected.

Instead two main avenues into the language have been tried and are recommended. These are not regarded as alternatives but as complementary approaches. They both aim at an immediate apprehension of the second language and its spontaneous use in a way which is as near as possible to the understanding and speaking of the first language.

The first approach is the exposure of children to the second language in real-life situations which exclude the use of L1. The pupil is plunged into a **'language bath'** in the same way as he found himself immersed in the linguistic environment of his native tongue as an infant. The expectation with this technique is that he hears the language spoken under conditions of ordinary communication and that he is forced to respond and, to repeat the phrase previously quoted, that he crosses the language barrier before he even knows that there is one. This is the kind of approach tried in some nursery schools which operate through the medium of a second language. Similarly it has been found that if children are accustomed to associating the second language always with a particular teacher this will bind the use of the language to communication with that person in an unquestioned manner. Hence the recommendation: "When possible, the one-language-one-person principle should be applied in the early stages." One of the great assets of multilingual and international schools is that they stimulate this necessary incidental learning through the use of the second language as a medium of teaching and conversation.[6])

---

[5] See chapter 12 above for illustrations of the surprisingly good results that teachers who are not linguists can attain in their classes with the help of tape recordings, television, films and filmstrips. For an illustrative list of the kind of material that has recently been produced to assist teachers of languages at the primary stage, see p. 68 seq. below.

Such language learning by exposure alone, however, is not sufficient. It must be matched by **systematic learning** at all stages. This work may include informal play, dramatizations, dance, mime, puppets, and film or filmstrip projections. A playful approach should, however, not mislead us into thinking that this is a superficial toying with language. The experiments on record show clearly that these techniques and aids can be fitted into a progressive course which is as systematic as any grammar course; only the categories of progression are arranged differently from the customary courses.

Firstly, there is a systematic approach to the linguistic material to be learnt. The vocabulary and structures to be taught are carefully selected. For French **français fondamental** forms an indispensable first basis; but in addition the material to be taught must be appropriate to "the age, environment and experience" of children. The Hamburg conference recommended that the choice of vocabulary should be founded on (a) the most productive vocabulary, based on frequency of usage; (b) vocabulary that is common to L1 and L2, or similar in the two languages; (c) the centre of interest in the child's experience of language; (d) difficulty of reproduction and assimilation." "The same principle should be applied to choice of sentence patterns." There is as yet a lack of substantiated information on what words and structures to select in teaching a second language to children of different ages and background. This urgently awaits research.[7])

Secondly, primacy is given to the **oral aspect:** listening and speaking before reading and writing. "In the early stages teaching should be purely oral." The importance of pronunciation, rhythm and an intelligible intonation is stressed. The teacher must offer a good speech model to imitate, or failing that should have the aid of recorded speech at his disposal so as to enable children to hear and copy the native speaker.

Thirdly, the language is presented at once and throughout in meaningful units and speech patterns simulating real-life situations. It is in this feature that the language teacher in the secondary school, even if he is accustomed to oral methods, will find an essential difference in approach. The current secondary school courses for language learners are generally based on a textbook or a series of books in which the unit of progression is the printed text advancing in terms of vocabulary and grammar. The modern teacher may well use an oral approach with reading aloud, question and answer, dictation and oral résumé. Yet all this is still centred on a printed text.

The primary courses that have been devised advance more in terms of topics of conversation, or situations in which certain structures are needed, and of activities to be associated with the use of language. Consequently ways and means are explored to create lifelike situations, to link language with real objects, visual stimuli (filmstrips, drawings) and dramatizations (miming, puppets, toy-shops, toy-telephones, toy-kitchens, costumes and masks). The intention of these techniques and aids is not to 'sugar the pill' but to give the child the experience of language within a context of situation which is characteristic of the immediacy of first-language learning. This is also one of the reasons why translation from and into the vernacular is banned in some of the existing courses and plays no important part in any of them, although in some a tolerant use of the vernacular is recommended for ease of communication.

---

6) "Suitable out-of-school sociable activities should be encouraged, including visits to areas or homes where L2 is spoken. Pupil exchanges between schools should also be encouraged where possible." See on this point also pp. 19 and 59 above.

7) There are centres of linguistic research where fundamental work is in progress which relates to this problem, e. g. for French and German in France, for English in the United Kingdom and U.S.A. and for Swedish in Sweden. See also chapter 20 below, especially p. 79, no. 15.

Fourthly, the progression through the language is not seen as a series of increasing complications and a severe intellectual exercise, but as a matter of finely graded practice by imitation and analogy of structures which are gradually memorized through frequent and varied use. It is often argued against this approach that the emphasis on imitation or mimicry and automatic repetition may lead to a parrotlike knowledge which is no more useful than the grammatical elaborations of the older school. However the emphasis is not laid on the repetition of fixed formulae but on flexible structures, i. e. patterns of expression which can constantly be modified by substitution. This familarity with structures **in** the language replaces analytical knowledge **about** the language in terms of grammar. It is for this reason that in some courses grammatical formulations and concepts are taboo, and play little part in most of them. "All new structures should be presented with established vocabulary and new vocabulary on established structures. All new structures and vocabulary should, as far as possible, be linked with some activity on the part of the pupils." It is sometimes feared that such intensive practice will introduce into the primary school programme an element of new formalism at a time when formalism is gradually disappearing from the primary school.8) It is necessary, therefore, in the **fifth** place to point out that several of the courses stress the cultural component of language teaching and through the language lead the children to the beginnings of the kind of international and intercultural understanding that were described in an earlier chapter as a necessary part of primary education at the present time. With reference to Spanish one teacher's guide, for example, recommends: "The objective is not primarily to communicate simple cultural facts or even to develop appreciation of hispanic culture. The objective is to reduce mono-cultural orientation by active pleasurable participation in a different cultural pattern."9)

Both in content and method the course in a foreign language can be planned in such a way that it enriches primary education. The pre-occupation with the language itself is a valuable experience in a child's speech development. Language learning can also influence his attitudes to other countries or communities. Quite apart from offering the possibility of learning of the life and lore of children elsewhere and making contact with members of this community, the language study – it has been rightly pointed out by the Modern Language Association of America in another of its guides10) – can be related to other areas of school work, including art, music, literature, geography, science, social studies and arithmetic.

A study of some of the materials, courses, guides for teachers and pamphlets or books with advice, based on the existing practices, will demonstrate in greater detail some of the principles that have been outlined in the foregoing paragraphs. Teachers and organizers interested in developing courses for primary schools would find this examination rewarding as a start in their own work. In most cases the courses and guides were produced with the needs of a particular teaching situation in mind and, therefore, will simply serve as examples, and in any case would need adaptation to other circumstances. The titles given below are merely by way of illustration and it should be stressed that the list is far from exhaustive.

U.S.A.11)

The following **Teachers' Guides** produced by the Modern Language Association of America:

Beginning French in Grade 3 (1959)
Continuing French in Grade 4 (1960)
Beginning German in Grade 3 (1956)12)
Continuing German in Grade 4 (1959)12)
Beginning Spanish in Grade 3 (1958)
Continuing Spanish in Grade 4 (1958)

all published by Educational Publishing Corporation, Darien, Connecticut.

---

8) For example, in the teaching of arithmetic, it is recognized that understanding of number relationships is as important as the mechanical drill to which so much importance had been attributed in the past.

9) Modern Language Association of America, **Beginning Spanish in Grade Three** p. 0.1. For details see list below.

10) **Beginning German in Grade 3,** p. vii, for details see list below.

11) For a useful general guide, with practical illustrations, on methods of teaching foreign languages to younger

Modern Language Project,

Parlons français, an audiovisual course in elementary French for children from the third or fourth grade upwards on film or television for school use. This is a complete course embodying films, recordings, activity books and detailed teacher's guides. It was originated in 1959 by the Modern Language Project of the Massachusetts Council for Public Schools, Boston.
Boston: Heath de Rochemont.

The following publications are based on the experience of teaching Spanish to young children in one area of the United States:

MacRae, Margit. W.
Teaching Spanish in the Grades.
Boston: Houghton Mifflin (1957)
Spanish in the Grade, A Teacher's Manual.
Book I (1950)
Book II (1960)
Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

United Kingdom

Mary Glasgow, with the assistance of S. R. Ingram,
Bon Voyage (1963)
a first-year course for 8 and 9 year-old children in primary schools. It consists of 30 individual working scripts arranged in class sets of 20. Each working script is recorded on a 7" L.P. plastic record, with teacher's notes.

British Bilingual Association,
A Manual of suggestions for the oral teaching of the French language to children from the ages of 7 and 8 years
Compiled by members of the Educational Advisory Committee of the British Bilingual Association and published by the Association
Chatham: Mr. D. P. Judge, Hon. Secretary, Municipal Offices, Riverside, Chatham.
with general hints by C. S. Elston and an introduction by Professor E. R. Briggs.

France

Centre de Recherches et d'Etudes pour la Diffusion du Français,
A French course for children aged 8 to 11 on tape with filmstrips. Texts by Hélène Gauvenet. This course is based on **francais fondamental** (1st stage) and approximates, within the range of **francais fondamental,** to the characteristics of speech and activities of French children of those ages.
Paris: Didier.

Lonjaret, J. and R. Denis,
L'enseignement précoce de l'anglais au niveau primaire élémentaire, la 1ère année.
Esquisse d'une progression phonétique pour les enfants de huit ans.
This course, which is not yet published, is based on the teaching of all children in primary schools with the help of English assistents in the Arles primary schools. Monsieur Lonjaret is Inspecteur général in this area.

---

children which are recommended in the USA see Keesee (1960 b). For a wide-ranging list of materials for use by teachers of foreign languages in American elementary and secondary schools see Ollmann (1962). Although Ollmann's list which includes information on bibliographies, dictionaries, books on methodology, culture and civilization, textbooks, grammars, readers, maps, films, filmstrips, discs and tapes etc. (with reference to French, German, Italian, Hebrew, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish and Swedish) is intended mainly for teachers in the USA, it should also be very serviceable to those concerned with foreign languages at any level (including the training of teachers) in other countries. For a shorter, more specific, list of references for the use of foreign language programmes at the primary stage, see Keesee (1960a).

12) For German see also Birkmaier (1955), and Ellert and Ellert (1959).

Gineste, R. & R. Lagrave,
Le français fondamental par l'action
a course for children aged 5 to 6, based on **français fondamental,** and a study of the linguistic needs of young African children. Only 500 words are used.
Paris: Didier (1961).

Sweden
Gorosch, M. & C.-A. Axelsson,
Engelska utan Bok I–IV.
A course recorded on tapes and accompanied by a filmstrip in four parts with Teacher's Book, for children age 7 to 11.[13])
Stockholm: University of Stockholm Institute of Phonetics.

Kenya
The Peak Course, prepared by the staff of the Special Centre, Ministry of Education, Nairobi, Kenya, for use in Standard I with English-stream classes in African primary schools. In these classes English is used as the language of instruction for African children of about 7 years of age.
The course consists of
Standard One Course Book for the Teacher,
Vol. I (rev. ed. 1962)
Vol. II (1961)
Vol. III (1961)
The Peak Series Picture Book with Teacher's Notes:
Peak Reader 1 and 2
Reading through Doing
Link Reader with Teacher's notes
Supplementary Reader: **I live in East Africa**
London/Nairobi: Oxford University Press

Groups for language teaching

It was explained in an earlier chapter (see Chapter 5) that, even if language aptitude can be detected early, language teaching in the primary school should, as far as possible, be made available for all children. In the situation in which the need for it arises it cannot be restricted to a particular group. The reports, therefore, do not normally suggest any selection of pupils except in a few of those instances where it was tried on a purely experimental basis.

However, the size of the group which should be taught by one teacher is ideally small, because of the need for oral practice, dramatization and other activities. "The size of the group is particularly important in language teaching. The optimum size appears to lie between ten and twenty-five pupils." If such language learning groups come from larger classes there might well be subdivisions of these classes "based on level of attainment and/or experience in the language".

Continuity

The introduction of language teaching in the primary school will have profound repercussions on language teaching in the receiving secondary schools and other institutions of further education. It is therefore essential that the work at the primary level is carefully co-ordinated with subsequent work so as to give children the benefit of a prolonged and continued language education. The importance of continuity was repeatedly emphasized in reports and at the Hamburg conference. In some experiments continuity has presented itself as a problem still awaiting an appropriate solution. The basic principle, however, is clear: "To obtain lasting results such teaching should be continued all through the period of school attendance."

This means in practice that a committee implementing a policy of language teaching at primary level should be strengthened by representatives from receiving schools so as to enable these

---

13) For further details see chapter 11.

schools in good time to make the necessary preparations and adjustments in their language courses when the pupils from the primary school with a knowledge of the second language are promoted.

Resources

In calculating the financial commitments and the material and human resources involved in implementing a reform along the lines described in this report it will be necessary to bear in mind not only staffing and teaching space for language groups, but also cost of materials and aids, and the training requirements in terms of short courses for experienced teachers and the cost of accommodating languages on a more permanent basis at teachers' colleges, as well as the plans for modifications in language teaching at the secondary school.

In some places an experimental pilot scheme may well be the most appropriate beginning of learning how best to introduce languages on a larger scale into the primary school. This can sometimes be done in a specified group of primary schools in association with a particular receiving school or groups of schools.

Chapter 20

Research problems concerning the teaching of foreign or second languages to younger children

J. B. CARROLL, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A.

On several occasions the writer has published reviews of research, or programmatic statements on research problems, concerned with the teaching of foreign languages, whether to children, adolescents, or adults (Carroll, 1953, 1960 [b], 1960 [c], 1963). Dunkel's (1948) excellent monograph on the psychology of second language learning has been available for some time. A comprehensive, annotated bibliography on foreign language teaching has recently been published (Nostrand, et al., 1962); this contains, among other things, a lengthy list of research problems. All these materials, however, have had to do, at least for the most part, with language learning in a comparatively restricted range of settings, typically, let us say, in schools in the American culture complex. But the problems of second language learning in American schools constitute only a small part of the large mosaic examined in the present work, and by the same token it is necessary to re-examine and in many cases to re-cast the problems for educational research posed in the above-mentioned treatments. The learning of a second language by a Yoruba child in Nigeria, by a Welsh child in the U.K., by a Marathi child in India, by an Azerbaijani child in the U.S.S.R., or by a diplomat's child in Geneva, must be considered in a different framework from the learning of French by an American child in a suburban school. Although the basic learning processes may be the same, the setting and the motivation are different.

It is the purpose of this essay, then, to lay out research problems about young children's second language learning from the standpoint of the world scene, with recognition of the many different linguistic situations that present themselves from one country or region to another. Some of the more important references to pertinent research will be cited in the bibliography, but because of the very broad scope of the subject, the present sketch must be regarded as far from exhaustive.

The context of research

The wide variety of situations in which children throughout the world learn second or foreign languages makes it necessary that we first consider the basic background variables that make these situations differ in critical ways, and that would therefore have to be taken account of in planning or interpreting research.

Linguistic factors

It is reasonable to suppose that the ease or difficulty with which a second language can be learned is a function of two factors: (1) the absolute degree of complexity of the language, and (2) the degree to which the second language is different from L1 or from any other languages the individual may have acquired. There is as yet no satisfactory way of measuring or quantifying these factors, because they in turn depend upon a great variety of phenomena – the complexity of the sound system, the complexity of the grammar, the size and richness of the vocabulary, and the complexity of the writing system. Linguistic scientists can, on the basis of analytic studies, arrive at substantial agreement in judging these elements. For example, they can agree that the phonology of Hawaiian is relatively simple, that the grammar of Navaho is complex, and that the lexicon of English is relatively larger than that of many languages. They can agree that the writing system of Finnish is relatively simple (because it exhibits regular letter-sound relationships), that of English somewhat more complicated, and that of Japanese immensely more so. Certain "reduced" or "pidginized" languages are patently much simpler to learn than the standard languages on which they are based.

It is usually considered that the degree to which a second language differs from the first language has more influence on the difficulty of learning it than the absolute complexity of the language, although there is no real evidence on this point because the requisite comparative studies have not been made. There is a need for the development of indices that would be useful in gauging the absolute and relative difficulties of languages.

If we focus attention on degrees of difference between languages, we can list the following cases in approximate order of increasing difference.

Case 1.1. L1 and L2 are different dialects of the same language; they are, however, more or less coordinate with each other with respect to phonology, grammar, and syntax. For example: Middle Western vs. New England American English; Castilian vs. Latin American Spanish; Egyptian vs. Lebanese colloquial Arabic.

Case 1.2. L1 and L2 stand in such a relation that one is a creolized form of the other. (A creolized language is a reduced dialect variant that is found as a mother tongue of a significant number of speakers, as distinguished from a pidgin language, which is a reduced dialect variant used only as a second language.) For example: Krio (Sierra Leone) vs. standard British English; Haitian Creole vs. standard metropolitan French. It would generally be the case that L1 would be the creolized variant, L2 the standard language; the reverse case, however, would be conceivable, for example in a situation where the English-speaking children of expatriates in a country like Sierra Leone also learn Krio, an English-based Creole.

Case 1.3. One language is a literary standard language (e. g. classical Arabic, literary Tamil), whereas the other is a colloquial vernacular based on it (e. g. Egyptian Arabic, colloquial Ceylonese Tamil). In nearly every instance, the vernacular would be L1, and the literary standard language L2, although again, the reverse case is conceivable.

(It may be commented that the above cases are often not considered as instances of learning "second languages". Perhaps educators in Arab-speaking countries are correct in refusing to admit that classical Arabic is virtually a second language relative to the colloquial language of the child, but it may still be useful to consider such a case along with clearer cases of second language learning, such as the learning of English by a native speaker of Arabic.)

Case 2.1. L1 and L2 are different languages, although in the same language family. Even within the same language family, differences between languages may vary widely, and account would have to be taken of differences in phonology, grammar, lexicon, and paralinguistic features. For example: English vs. German; Portuguese vs. Marathi; modern Hebrew vs. Jerusalem Arabic.

Case 2.2. L1 and L2 are in different language families. On the average, languages in different language families exhibit wider differences in all respects than languages in the same family, but pairs of languages in different families could be found that are more similar to each other in many respects than certain pairs of languages in the same family. For example, Hungarian and Czech might be found to be closer together than say, English and Hindi.

In case the learner goes so far as to learn the written form of L2, the complexity of the writing system of L2 must be taken into account in gauging the difficulty of learning it. If, in addition, the learner has already acquired a knowledge of the writing system of his L1, the degree of difference between the two writing systems must be taken into account.

Level of attainment expected

Research must consider the nature of the various skills which the child is expected to attain. What level of auditory comprehension must he reach? What degree of fluency in speaking must he attain, and how accurate must his phonology and grammar be? What level of reading attainment is expected, if any, and must the child also learn to write accurately in the second language? What are the requirements with regard to spelling, punctuation, calligraphy, and other "social amenities" of written language?

Degree of contact with the second language (aside from educational contacts)

The spectrum of possibilities includes:

Case 1. L2 is used either as a first language or as an acquired language in the immediate family or household of the child.

Case 2. L2 is used by a population in close geographical contact with the family, e. g. in the same neighbourhood, or in the same town, such that the child frequently hears L2 spoken by other children and/or by adults.

Case 3. L2 is used only by a special group of individuals (e. g. a religious society, a servant class, a merchant class, a class of white Europeans, etc.) and is heard only occasionally by the child. **Case 4.** L2 is the language of a population residing at a long distance from the child, and is practically never heard by the child except perhaps through mass media such as radio or television.

Motivation for learning the second language

Motivation can be either positive, neutral, or negative. Either the child wants to learn a second language, is indifferent about it, or tends to resist learning. Further, there are both intrinsic and extrinsic factors in motivation. Intrinsic motivation has to do with the child's own attitudes toward the learning of the language and the advantages or disadvantages he sees as inherent in the fact of learning the second language; extrinsic motivation has to do with the rewards or punishments which emanate from others (peers, parents, school authorities, etc.) for successful or unsuccessful learning. Intrinsic and extrinsic factors may vary independently. At least 9 cases are possible, represented by the possible combinations of positive, neutral, and negative intrinsic motivation with positive, neutral, and negative extrinsic motivation. For example, the child who desires to learn L2 (for reasons to be illustrated below) and will be positively rewarded for doing so (with good marks, esteem, success) has positive motivation both intrinsically and extrinsically. The American child who resists learning Spanish but will be positively rewarded if he does so has negative intrinsic motivation but positive extrinsic motivation. The opposite case is represented by the Tamil child in Ceylon who sees a positive reason for learning Singhalese but will be disapproved or punished by his parents for doing so.

Motives, both intrinsic and extrinsic, are complex; not all of them are at the level of conscious awareness, and motives often "conflict" in the sense that the actions to which they lead are incompatible. A French Canadian child who has an intense desire to learn English may risk the scorn of his peers. All we can do here is to indicate some general classes of variables that seem to affect motivation to learn languages.

A. **Relative social status of L1 and L2.** L2 may be perceived (by the child) as having either (1) higher status than his own, (2) equal status with his own, or (3) lower status than his own. The relative status of a language depends roughly upon the perceived social status or prestige of its speakers, or upon the extent to which the learner wishes to "identify" with speakers of a language, that is, to consider himself to have the same abilities, motives, and characteristics as they. The degree to which status differences motivate language learning would seem to depend upon personality differences, according to findings of Gardner and Lambert (1959); that is, some children are more highly motivated than others by the idea of learning a high-status language. Likewise, certain personality constellations may predispose a child to learn a low-status language. The way in which high and low status languages are used by bilinguals of those languages to demarcate social positions has been studied by Rubin (1962) for the case of Paraguay.

B. **The instrumental value of L2.** Learning a second language is in many cases largely influenced by the learner's conception of what he will be enabled to do by learning the second language. When contact with speakers of the language is close or fairly close, there may be obvious advantages in being able to understand them and communicate with them. Or the goals may be more distant: the learner hopes to be able to communicate with people whom he expects to meet at some time in the future. There is instrumental value in being able to read materials written in the second language – whether they are readily at hand or accessible only in anticipation. This is particularly true when the second language is a "language of wider communication" which is the vehicle for information of science, technology, and politics contributing to individual or to national development.

C. **Cultural and liberal values of a second language.** Although it may be difficult to communicate this idea to a child, a motive for learning a second language which may often be valid is that it may contribute to the child's general education, to his appreciation of the culture of those who speak it, and to his insight into the way language works.

D. **Political factors.** Political factors may work to enhance or to depress either intrinsic or extrinsic motivations. Government language policies, propaganda, and public pronouncements may make it either more desirable or less desirable to learn certain languages. Antipathies between social groups are often accompanied by resistance to learning the language of the other group. In certain communities, it would appear that the very attempt on the part of the government to encourage a certain language may have quite the opposite effect.

Opportunity to learn

The opportunity to learn a given second language is often a function of the degree of contact, as spelled out above.

Apart from the degree of contact, however, one must consider the position of the second language in the school. The chief variables are:

(1) The age or grade at which the second language is introduced.

(2) Whether the second language is made the language of instruction, and if so, at what grade level it becomes the medium of instruction.

(3) Whether the second language has to become a medium of communication among children because of the heterogeneity of children's language backgrounds.

(4) The skill of the teacher in the second language and in teaching it.

Mode of learning

Evidence is accumulating (Lambert, Havelka, and Crosby, 1958) that an important consideration in language learning is the mode of learning, specifically, whether the language is learned:

(1) largely as a formal system parallel to, and explained in terms of, L1, or

(2) largely as a functional communication system whose meanings emerge out of social and environmental interactions, with little or no reference to the L1 of the learner.

The first of these modes is characteristic of most kinds of formal instruction, and is said to produce "compound bilingualism" in the sense that the first language and second language systems of the individual are to some extent interdependent. The second of these modes typically occurs in situations where the learner has much opportunity to interact with speakers of the second language, and with them, to interact with the environment; it is said to produce "coordinate bilingualism" in the sense that the first and second language systems of the speaker are largely independent. Formal instruction can, however, be organized in such a way as to approximate the second learning mode.

Implications for research design

In view of the very large number of variables that may affect a language learning situation, the design of research which will yield sufficiently generalizable answers is difficult. A research finding which is valid for one type of situation may be totally irrelevant for another. Ideally, one would like to arrive at a theory which would encompass all the possible situations and enable one to make predictions concerning the characteristics and course of the learning process in each case. Perhaps this will someday be possible. It not being possible now, an alternate research strategy may be proposed. Namely, a number of common types of language learning situations should be thoroughly investigated. These common types should represent various combinations of key variables. Let us, for example, examine three typical situations that might be investigated. (These situations are hypothetical only.)

Situation I. Native American children learning French in American public schools.

a) Linguistic factors: Case 2.1 (see p. 73).

b) Level of attainment expected: Eventually it is expected that each child will progress as far as he can toward full competence in all aspects of French.

c) Degree of contact with L2: Case 4 (see p. 74).

d) Motivation: For the average child, intrinsic motivation is neutral, but extrinsic motivation tends to be positive because parents reward the child for his efforts. French is regarded as of equal status with English, but it has both instrumental and cultural values. National educational policy favours the acquisition of second languages, almost indiscriminately.

e) Opportunities to learn: Typically, French is introduced at the 3rd grade level, but only as a subject taught for a few minutes a day, never as a medium of instruction. The teacher is, however, a competent speaker of French and teaches well.

f) Mode of learning: Mode 2, i.e. functional language teaching.

Situation II. Nigerian children (of heterogeneous language backgrounds) learning English in a primary school in Lagos, Nigeria, Grade I.

a) Linguistic factors: Case 2.2.

b) Level of attainment expected: Analogous to Situation I.

c) Degree of contact with L2: Case 2, and for some children, Case 1.

d) Motivation: For most children, intrinsic motivation is highly positive, for the advantages of learning English are clear. Extrinsic motivation is also high, since parents wish their children to progress well in English, which has a higher status than the native vernacular, and offers instrumental and cultural values. English is an official language of the country.

e) Opportunities to learn: English is being introduced at the first grade because the heterogeneity of the children's language backgrounds makes it necessary to use English as both an informal and a formal means of communication. English is introduced as the medium of instruction as rapidly as possibly. However, the skill of the teacher in English is not great.

f) Mode of learning: Generally, Mode 2; little use is made of the native vernacular largely because of heterogeneity in children's language backgrounds.

Situation III. Haitian children (speakers of Haitian Creole) learning Standard French in grade III.

a) Linguistic factors: Case 1.2.

b) Level of attainment: Analogous to Situations I and II.

c) Degree of contact: Case 2, and for some, Case 1.

d) Motivation: Analogous to Situation II.

e) Opportunity to learn: Standard French is introduced in Grade I because it is the official language of the country and the language of instruction.

f) Mode of learning: Mode 1; at any rate, Standard French is taught in a traditional manner.

These are, of course, only illustrations of the kinds of situations that could be found. But these situations might also be discovered to have numerous analogues. For example, analogues of Situation I could be found in many classrooms of countries in the British Commonwealth (U. K., Canada, Australia), in West European countries, and in certain parts of the U.S.S.R. Analogues of Situations II and III could be found in numerous developing nations.

Background scientific studies

Basic scientific studies to furnish the necessary theoretical background for investigations of second language learning in children are needed from many disciplines.

From linguistics would come contrastive studies of languages and means of judging the degree of learning difficulty of a second language, given the first.

From sociology, anthropology, and social psychology would come information about the social factors involved in attitudes towards languages and their speakers, motivation for learning languages, etc.

From neurology might come additional information and clarification concerning the role of a second language in the neural organization of an individual, and particulary the effects of second language learning in children.

From psychology would come, one would hope, fuller information about the learning process in general, as well as information about the means by which foreign languages are learned. Psychometricians may be able to provide further information about individual differences in language learning ability, as related to the various facets of intelligence.

The programming of research studies

The remainder of this chapter offers what is frankly no more than a listing of research problems, with some semblance of organization and documentation. This listing is adapted from materials prepared at the Hamburg meeting. A listing of research problems is not to be confused with a research programme, any research programme must be adapted to the particular facilities and capabilities available to the research investigator and may be able to attack only a certain few of the many research problems which can be listed.

The fundamental goals of a research programme must be borne in mind. Ultimately, it would be hoped that out of all the research that might be done would come answers to the following questions:

1. What are reasonable objectives to set for foreign language study by young children? How rapidly can it be expected that they can acquire various skills in a foreign language? How rapidly can they develop skills in a second or a third foreign language?

2. If the educational objective sought is competence in a foreign language at some age beyond that of childhood, such as adolescence or adulthood, how wise is it to devote the child's time to learning a foreign language in childhood rather than at a later age?

3. Are the answers to the above questions the same for all children, and if not, how should individual differences be taken into account?

4. What are the best methods of teaching to achieve the objectives selected? How should teachers be recruited, selected, and trained? How should courses be constructed? What audio-visual and technological aids can be devised, and how practical and effective are they?

Studies of the child as a language learner

1. What is the normal course of development of the native language of the child? Recent surveys of this subject are those of Berko and Brown (1960), Carroll (1960a), Irwin (1960), and Ervin and Miller (1963). Research must be conducted to expand our knowledge of the normal course of development of the child's learning and use of his native language, particularly with respect to phonology, grammar, and vocabulary. Studies should be made of children in different countries, learning different types of languages, preferably on a cooperative basis so that comparable methods may be employed. Studies should also take account of the different types of language experiences which the child may be expected to have – for example, different forms and styles of language as in folklore, fairy tales, nursery rhymes, etc. which may usefully figure in teaching materials.

2. How does the child acquire a second language when he receives no formal instruction in it? This question needs to be answered for a variety of situations and language settings. It would seem that careful case studies, conducted on a longitudinal basis, and using some of the same methods that are used for studying native language learning, would suggest answers to such questions as the following: Do children acquire various aspects of language (phonology, vocabulary, grammatical patterns, etc.) in the same developmental sequence and by the same psychological processes in L2 as in L1? To what extent is it meaningful to distinguish a "natural" and an "artificial" manner of learning L2 (perhaps corresponding to the two modes of learning defined earlier in this chapter)?

3. Can anything be learned from case histories of adults who have learned one or more foreign languages at various ages and under various conditions? Such case histories would include assessments of competence in the several foreign languages as well as analyses of the influence of various factors such as age of acquisition, manner of exposure to each L2, parental attitudes toward the respective languages, the history of the individual's own attitudes and motivations with respect to foreign language learning, the role of teachers, absences from the L2 environment, disuse and forgetting of the L2, age of relearning, etc. It is believed that analysis of such a compilation of case histories would suggest some tentative answers to the question of whether an L2 is better learned when one is a child.

4. Is it better to introduce two languages simultaneously as first or native languages, or to delay the introduction of a second language until after L1 is firmly established? This question can be approached partly through an analysis of case histories such as those mentioned in connection with question 3 above. In addition, it can be approached through studies which actually observe and follow the development of two "first" languages in a child, as in the studies of Leopold (1939–50), or an L1 and an L2, by the methods suggested for question 2.

5. Is it better to introduce two L2's simultaneously, or is it better to introduce them successively? This question has to be considered for various stages of development of the child. For example, it might be found that simultaneous introduction is feasible for early ages but not for later ages. Some evidence might be garnered by the case history approach already mentioned for questions 2, 3, and 4. It might also be possible to conduct experiments in schools, comparing simultaneous

and successive introduction of foreign languages. Also of possible relevance would be experimental psychological studies in which children are taught two artificial languages either simultaneously or successively. Pilot experiments have already been conducted on this question by Lambert (personal communication).

6. In situations in which it is urgent to present L2 at the earliest possible age (e. g., in West Africa, India, the Philippines, etc.), how soon is it desirable to introduce L2 as the medium of instruction for school subjects other than the L2 itself? This question could be approached by means of statistical studies comparing groups of children taught with L2 as a medium of instruction after various degrees of delay. The best known experiment bearing on this question is the "Iloilo experiment" conducted in the Philippines by Prator (1950) [see also Orata (1953)]; its tentative conclusion was that an L2, introduced in Grade I, should not be used as a medium of instruction until Grade III. The results of further studies being conducted in the Philippines by Prator and his associates are currently being awaited.

7. To what extent do children differ in their ability or aptitude for learning foreign languages? Can tests of such aptitude be devised which would be useful and valid for selecting children who are particularly able, or for identifying children for whom foreign language study would be best delayed or eliminated altogether? The writer has been studying these questions and would tentatively offer affirmative answers to them. His studies are not yet in print, except with respect to language aptitude in adolescents and adults (Carroll and Sapon, 1958; Carroll, 1962), and may in any case be limited in application to what has been here called Mode 1 learning situation.

8. In studies of the psychology of language learning both in the case of the native language and in the case of a foreign or second language, two questions may have particular interest: (a) What are the comparative roles of **imitation** and **creative usage** in language learning? That is to say, at what stage does imitative activity start to be replaced by the child's activity in uttering sentences of his own creation? The answer to this question may give some guidance to the foreign language teacher in deciding how long to continue imitative exercises and when to start more creative exercises. (b) What are the comparative roles of "drill" and "conceptual learning" in formal instruction? Does the principle found to hold in education generally, namely that drill and conceptual learning complement each other and must go on more or less concurrently, also hold in foreign language learning?

Studies of children's progress in learning foreign languages under instruction

9. To implement the studies proposed below, it will be necessary to start research leading to the development, for any given language, of a full set of measures of attainment in the various skills at different levels, suitable for young children. Such measures would be useful not only in research but also in classroom use by teachers. Measures of auditory comprehension, oral production, reading comprehension, and writing skill are to be included. The tests should be easily administered and graded. As far as possible, the tests should be parallel across languages so that research comparisons can be made.

10. Through the use of such tests, comprehensive longitudinal, cross-sectional, and comparative studies should be conducted in such a way as to yield information concerning children's rates of progress in acquiring second language proficiency. Tabulations should be made for children starting at different ages, for children of different degrees of language aptitude, and for children in different countries learning different languages and in different motivational settings. Account is also to be taken of the amount of time (clock hours) devoted to language teaching, and of the methods of instruction. It may be emphasized that the studies contemplated under this heading would require truly massive efforts; nevertheless, it is only through such studies that satisfactory knowledge can be gained concerning factors in second language learning and the amount of investment required by it.

11. To what extent are foreign language skills and knowledges retained after instruction and practice in the language cease? That is, how well are foreign language skills retained when there is no opportunity to practise them? How easily are these skills retrained through "refresher courses"? These questions need to be answered for individuals who have started their language learning at different ages, who have had varying amounts of training in them, and who have had varying amounts of disuse.

12. Investigations should be made of the varying effectiveness of different timetables of instruction at different age levels, e. g. length of contact at any one time (10, 20, 30, or 45 minute periods), frequency of the contact period (twice a day, once a day, every other day, twice a week).
13. Does learning an L2 in childhood make learning L3 easier at some later age?

Questions of the methodology and content of language instruction

14. Comparative studies continue to be needed of the systems of foreign language teaching that exist in each country, including a specification of goals of instruction, numbers of children taught, languages taught, methods of instruction, texts and materials used, and many other factors listed in the early part of this chapter under "The Context of Research." Particularly useful studies of recent developments in the United States are Dunkel and Pillet's report (1962) of a five-year experiment in the teaching of French in the laboratory school of the University of Chicago, and the compilation prepared by the Modern Language Association of America (Modern Language Association, 1959–1961).
15. The preparation of teaching materials requires adequate information about the language being taught, and the proper ordering of the linguistic material from simple to complex. Research is needed to determine the degree to which contrastive linguistic analyses can predict the relative difficulty of items in the learning, and if they cannot, how may these difficulties best be predicted. An example of a research study concerning phonological learning difficulties is that by Titone (1961).
16. Is there any simple way of categorizing the various teaching methods and procedures in common use? Through classroom observation and interviews with teachers, it might be possible to arrive at a more useful way of characterizing teaching methods than are now available.
17. Similarly, it might be desirable to survey presently available textbooks and other teaching materials in terms of the teaching methods implied by them. Such surveys should be made in different countries and in different settings.
18. Assessments are needed, through empirical research or by other means, of the value and effectiveness of different techniques of teaching, for example, "quick-response oral translation," dictation, pattern practice, etc.
19. Some advocate that language instruction is best done when the material of instruction is very carefully planned and when it is given to the students in carefully controlled amounts and sequences; others advocate that language instruction is best done by a "language bath" approach in which the student is exposed to as much language – with as wide variety – as possible. Research might provide some basis for choosing between these points of view.
20. What is the best time to introduce reading and writing of a foreign language? Is it better to delay this teaching until mastery of the spoken language has been firmly established, or should it be introduced as early as possible without interfering with the establishment of oral habits?
21. Does using L2 as a medium of instruction give any additional boost to fluency and achievement in that language through the fact that it is thereby used instrumentally, i. e., as a means to some end rather than as an object of instruction?
22. Further studies are needed of children's interests and of the ways in which they are or are not reflected in teaching materials and textbooks.
23. Does frequent testing have a beneficial effect on foreign language learning, as it usually is found to do in other subjects?
24. Above all, there are needs for the development of simpler, better organized, and more attractive materials for the teaching of foreign or second languages. The possible advantages of modern teaching technology should be more fully investigated and exploited – films, tapes, teaching machines, and other newer media of instruction. The preparation of such materials for the pre-service and in-service training of teachers needs special attention.

Studies of the effects of foreign language learning on other learnings

25. What are the effects, if any, of L2 teaching on proficiency in the first language? Are there benefits, or are there adverse influences? Particular attention should be given to the effects of L2 learning on reading, writing, and spelling in the first language.
26. What are the effects, if any, of L2 teaching on the learning of other school subjects? Are these

effects accounted for solely by considerations of the amounts of time available for learning, or by other factors?

27. Are "slow learners" particularly affected by foreign language learning? Because of the difficulties they have with other school subjects, it may be that these children ought not to have to spend time on foreign language learning; on the other hand, it may be found that many slow learners are actually quite adept at learning languages, and for these cases language learning may be a great boon.

Studies of the foreign language teacher

28. There is need for comparative studies and surveys of systems of recruiting, training, and qualifying teachers in the various countries. Studies should embrace both pre-service and in-service training. In some countries, the advisability of developing qualifying tests of teachers' foreign language proficiency should be considered.

29. Other things being equal, should a foreign language be taught by the child's regular classroom teacher or by a special teacher?

Miscellaneous studies in foreign language learning

30. In certain areas of the world, there is need for linguistic studies concerned with the regional forms of standard languages (English, French, Hindi, etc.). The differences among these varieties of each language should be determined, and studies should be made of their mutual intelligibility in order to formulate decisions concerning advisable standards to be set, if indeed there is good reason to set such a standard.

31. There is need for systematic comparative studies of the attitudes of the nationals of various countries towards problems of language learning and in particular towards the learning of given languages. Techniques of social psychology should also be employed to investigate attitudes towards speakers of the various national languages, whether they are native speakers of those languages, or not.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This study, based on reports and the work of an expert meeting which was held at the Unesco Institute for Education in Hamburg in April 1962, has attempted to answer three main questions (see p. 8). The principal conclusions of the enquiry will now be briefly summarized.

The first question was concerned with the arguments and evidence justifying teaching of second languages to children of primary school age. The suspicion that such teaching is merely a fashion was dismissed. To bring a second language into the education of young children is a proposal that deserves to be taken seriously. The political, economic and cultural interdependence of the world today demands a crossing of language and national barriers in the earliest phases of schooling. Primary education must become more international-minded. Our basic concept of literacy may have to be modified so as to include – besides the learning of reading and writing the vernacular – the acquisition of another language.

The consequences of current neurophysiological views on the teaching of a second language deserve serious consideration. From this point of view it would seem that the earlier the start the better the acquisition of the basic neuro-muscular skills involved. It is probably more than a figure of speech when we say that such early learning will give children a chance of getting a language 'under their skin' or 'into their system'.

Psychologically there is also much to be said for an early introduction to a second language. A child's enormous potential in respect of the sounds of a language and his great capacity for assimilating other linguistic structures can be regarded as assets which it would be foolish to waste. Recent studies of bilingualism on the whole seem to strengthen the argument for an early start. The common fears that a second language is detrimental to the development of the first language, to intellectual growth or to general school attainments are not supported by current evidence.

Learning languages at later stages in life is not invalidated by stressing the special advantages of early learning: but its merits are different from those which an early start would offer. Early learning, if guided according to the best available methodological principles, comes as near as it is possible, under artificially created conditions, to the learning of two languages by children in a bilingual milieu.

In answer to the second question different experiences, practices, methods and results were examined. This survey showed that it was necessary to bear in mind countries and communities in which early learning is a necessity for education and communication, as well as those countries in which this is more a question of educational choice. Whatever the reason for which languages are taken up in the primary school there is clear evidence that such learning is a practical proposition, that it can be educationally valuable for children generally (not only for the specially gifted) and that it can produce worthwhile results. However, the work has to be planned carefully. Questions of time, staffing, content, materials, methods, continuity and finance have to be borne in mind. There is sufficient experience available in different countries which leads to definite suggestions on how to make this work effective. On these recommendations there is considerable consensus of opinion, but such advice cannot be applied automatically to all countries, and nearly all of it requires further critical examination and research.

In response to the third question the research needs were studied. As was evident throughout the report the problem of language teaching in the primary school gives rise to a number of theoretical and practical questions, for which answers are not yet available or can only be given provisionally. These research problems have been surveyed in the final chapter.

To conclude, what has been reported is only a beginning, but a hopeful beginning. Those who have taken part in the international enquiry know full well that it is not the answer to all problems of language teaching. It is a start only in one direction but the critical examination of the data at our disposal has led unmistakably to the conclusion that this approach, far from leading into a blind alley, deserves and needs further development, extended experimentation and critical research in various parts of the world under a variety of conditions.[1])

Postscript for Parents

This enquiry on language teaching was concerned with young children in the school situation. Another important side to the problem lies in the home. The contribution of the home has hardly been considered. But as some of the studies have shown clearly, the measures proposed will require parental understanding, support and co-operation. The wrong kind of help (e. g. mispronunciation, misguided grammar teaching, or translation when translation is intentionally avoided) can be as detrimental as the wrong kind of help in reading or arithmetic. Parents, therefore, should be able to find out in what the teaching of the second language consists; they should be kept informed regularly and guided in the kind of support that is expected from them. They should also be able to discuss these problems with each other and the teachers in the schools.

A special problem is offered by the bilingual home. Bilingual parents, e. g. one parent speaking L1 as the vernacular and the other L2, who read of these developments in linguistic education, may wonder whether or not to bring up their own children bilingually in the home.

The arguments that hold good for schools hold equally good for parents. If it is right for young children to acquire another language in the kindergarten or school the same would apply – with even greater justification – for the bilingual home. As a general principle it can be stated that the home which can provide bilingualism should be encouraged to do so.

However, before embarking on L2 teaching through domestic bilingualism, parents should consider various problems carefully. A school system, once it has adopted a second language policy, can, and indeed must, make certain institutional provisions to carry out its policy and it has to see to it that this continues to be done effectively. In the home it all depends on the initiative of individuals, their motivation, goodwill, consistency and attitudes towards the second language.

The second language is for the L2 parent and partner not only a medium of communication, it is part of one parent's culture and background, his personal past, his contact with his own family and friends. It is also a factor in the marriage relationship. If the second language is fully accepted by both partners, if there is no prejudice against it in the community (especially at school) and contact is maintained with the parent's country of origin through correspondence and visits, a bilingual upbringing will be the obvious choice.

Where, however, the attitude to the second language is charged with negative emotions, it will be much more difficult to cultivate domestic bilingualism. The second language may become a cause of friction, if, for example, only one partner speaks and understands it. In other circumstances it may be a constant reminder of a culture clash or a distressing past. It may also be resisted by the child, especially once he goes to school and wishes to merge without distinction into the peer group. It may well be that in spite of these and other difficulties the second language should be maintained but it is as well to bear in mind the obstacles that may impede progress.

When a policy of domestic bilingualism has been adopted the one-language-one-person principle recommended earlier for schools could also with advantage be applied in the home. In the early stages it is not necessary to think of such second language learning in the home as 'teaching' any more than it would be in the case of learning the first language. All that is required is to provide regular contacts and situations in which L2 is heard and used. The asset in domestic bilingualism is that situations have not to be contrived as in school but arise through normal social interchange. The possibility is given to develop in children a very high order of co-ordinate bilingualism. There is no reason why such bilingual education should not begin in the earliest vocal exchanges. In fact it will be easier for both parent and child to begin them at once rather than to start later when social communication is already bound to one of the languages. In the linguistic development of their children parents must at times expect confusion between the languages and also changes in attitude to them during the period of growing up. The cultivation of

---

1) Information on further developments would be useful to all those interested in this work. It is hoped that, with the help of the Unesco Department of Education, an international bulletin on the early teaching of second and foreign languages will be issued from time to time.

contacts with the L2 environment through visits and playing with friends speaking L2 will enable the child not only to break through the language barrier but also to grow up without the usual monocultural limitations. The only special provision that parents will have to make is to give the child some of the linguistic experiences (e. g. stories, rhymes, songs, seasonal festivals) that are normally communicated through the language. Also if the bilingualism is not to be kept at preschool level it will be necessary – once the child is exposed to the proliferation of language contacts in the dominant language through school (reading, writing, arithmetic, stories, general instruction, social contacts at school, etc.) – to match this to some extent by an advance also in the second language, e. g. through age-appropriate stories and eventually reading of the second language and perhaps pursuing some interests through the medium of L2. To develop a bilingualism which is a truly dual language command as outlined on page 18 would require some considerable effort, but a knowledge of the second language which does not rise to this level would still be worth acquiring.

A somewhat different problem arises where a family (speaking L1) lives abroad, i. e. in an L2 environment. Here domestic life normally promotes one language and the life of the neighbourhood the other. The child may in fact find himself a stranger in the nursery school, the street and the school, until he has acquired through contact and communication a workable command of the second language. Here again attitudes to the two languages will be a crucial factor in the child's development as a bilingual or as a person with a marked preference for either L1 or L2. Where a family lives abroad the acquisition of another language would be an obvious advantage but the cultivation of one language in the home and the other through the external environment will be so much influenced by the status of the languages and attitudes towards them that the issue must be looked at realistically bearing in mind the emotions associated with the use of the language in question by parents, children and society.

There are many other variations which could be considered in a similar way.[1] In fact, wherever the language of the school and community differs from that of the parental home, this situation offers an opportunity for developing bilingualism but it presents also problems and difficulties for the child who has to reconcile life in two cultures and two languages. These hints must be sufficient to show what is involved in bringing about a spontaneous acquisition of a second language in a bilingual setting under conditions where bilingualism or the cultivation of a second language is not yet the universal practice of the community.

---

1) These variations are systematically set out on pp. 73—74 above.

APPENDIX 1

List of participants

at the expert meeting on **Foreign Languages in Primary Education**, held from 9th to 14th April, 1962, at the Unesco Institute for Education, Hamburg 13, Feldbrunnenstrasse 70 (Germany).

Name and Country	Position	Address
Mr. Maurice ABOUDARAM Morocco	Instituteur titulaire, Alliance Israélite Universelle (Paris)	Institut Central ORT, Anières, Geneva, Switzerland
Miss A. E. ADAMS U.K.	General Inspector of Education, Surrey County Council	lla Bernard Gardens, Wimbledon, London, S.W. 19
Prof. T. ANDERSSON U.S.A.	Chairman, Department of Romance Languages, University of Texas	University of Texas, Austin 12, Texas
Prof. J. B. CARROLL U. S. A.	Roy E. Larsen Professor of Education, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University	Batchelder House, 7, Kirkland Street, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts
Miss Ahalya CHARI India	Lecturer, Central Institute of Education, Delhi 6	Central Institute of Education, Delhi 6
Mr. Gideon COHEN Israel	Senior English Master and Instructor for methods in teaching English, Hebrew University of Jerusalem School of Education and Secondary School	17 Habashim Road, Jerusalem
Mrs. R. C. COHEN France	Directrice. Ecole Active Bilingue – Ecole Internationale de Paris	Ecole Active Bilingue, 39 Avenue de La Bourdonnais, Paris VIIe
Prof. Paul GLEES Federal Republic of Germany/U.K.	Professor für Histologie und experimentelle Neuroanatomie, Universität Göttingen	Institut für Histologie, Göttingen, Kreuzbergring 36
Rev. E. F. O'DOHERTY Ireland	Professor, Department of Psychology, University College, Dublin	University College, Dublin
Dr. Pedro ROSSELLO Spain/Switzerland	Directeur Adjoint, Bureau International d'Education	Bureau International d'Education, Palais Wilson, Geneva

Name and Country	Position	Address
Mr. Kurt SPANGENBERG Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin	Director, Pädagogische Arbeitsstelle	Pädagogische Arbeitsstelle, Berlin-Schöneberg, Grunewaldstr. 6–7
Mrs. Livia J. STIJNS Belgium	Writer	"Chattefontaine" Hameau des Gressets, La Celle-Saint-Cloud (Seine-et-Oise) France
Rev. Renzo TITONE Italy	Professor, Istituto Superiore di Pedagogia del Pontificio Ateneo Salesiano, Centro Didattico	Istituto Superiore di Pedagogia del Pontificio Ateneo Salesiano, Via Marsala 42, Rome
Prof. J. L. WILLIAMS U.K.	Dean, Faculty of Education, University College of Wales	University College of Wales, Cambrian Street, Aberystwyth, Wales
Representatives of Unesco Department of Education, Paris		
M. Albert LEGRAND	Programme Specialist (Teaching of Modern Languages)	UNESCO, Department of Education, Place de Fontenoy, Paris–VIIe
Mr. S. TANGUIANE	Staff member	UNESCO, Clearing House, Department of Education, Place de Fontenoy, Paris–VIIe
Observers		
Mr. Franz CORNELSEN Federal Republic of Germany	Publisher	Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Bingerstr. 29
Dr. Rudolf MARTENS Federal Republic of Germany	Oberstudienrat	Kassel-Kirchditmold, Christbuchenstr. 80
Unesco Institute for Education		
Dr. Saul B. ROBINSOHN	Director	
Dr. W. KOELLE	Deputy Director	
Dr. H. H. STERN	Research Officer (Conference secretary)	
M. M. LEMONON	Programme Specialist	
Frau Ch. LENGNING	Administrator	
Mrs. R. KRASNO	Interpreter	

APPENDIX 2

A summary of foreign or second language teaching in primary education[1]

Argentina

The teaching of **English** in State primary schools was begun in 1960 with five double-shift pilot schools in the Federal Capital, while fourteen similar schools were authorized in 1961. Thus, in the Federal Capital there are nineteen schools providing instruction in English. Since 1926, **French** has been taught with excellent results in the 4th, 5th and 6th grades at the experimental primary school attached to the Faculty of Humanities and Educational Science of the National University of La Plata (p. 9).

See also chapter 16.

Australia

(a) **The Northern Territory.** From 1950 the Commonwealth Office of Education opened schools for aboriginal children living for the most part under tribal conditions often in remote areas. These children had no knowledge of **English** and their teachers no knowledge of the native languages. Since available primers were inadequate, the Office of Education devised and published a series of six "Bush Book" primers and three supplementary readers.

(b) **The Territory of Papua and New Guinea.** Administration primary schools use **English** as the medium of instruction, except sometimes in the first year or two.

(c) **The Trust Territory of Nauru. English** is now taught by the audio-lingual approach from the kindergarten level (p. 10).

Austria

The first foreign language (choice between **English** and **French**) is introduced in the first year of upper primary schools and middle schools, i. e. at 10 plus (p. 12–13).

Belgium

Belgium has two national languages: **Flemish** and **French.** In Brussels and other bilingual parts of the country the second language taught is by law the other national language. In unilingual parts of Flanders or Walloon Belgium, **English** or **German** may be the second language, but the preference is nearly always given to the other national language. In Brussels and along the language partition line the other national language must be taught from the third primary year upwards; it may be taught earlier (by royal decree). In unilingual parts, no second language is normally taught before the fifth year of primary education.

See also appendix 3.

Bulgaria

Russian as the first foreign language is taught to all pupils from about 12 upwards, but extra-scholastic courses are available for younger children, i. e. (a) pre-school classes for children age 6 (the direct method is used and classes are held three times a week), (b) classes for school children between 7–14 (lessons are two hours in length and are held three times a week for 10 months) (p. 18).

See also chapter 10.

Byelorussian S.S.R.

In some schools **Byelorussian** is the language of instruction, and **Russian** is taught as a second language from the second year upwards. In others, Russian is the language of instruction and **Byelorussian** is taught from the third year onwards (p. 19).

---

[1] Based on Unesco, **Education Abstracts** Vol. XIII, No. 3, 1961, and other information received. Page numbers in brackets refer to Education Abstracts. Chapter references indicate where further details can be found in this report.

Canada
In predominantly French-speaking regions, the second language (**English**) is introduced at the elementary level and remains compulsory throughout high school. In recent years efforts have been made in various English-speaking regions to introduce the second language (**French**) at the elementary level (p. 19–20).

Ceylon
A second language is introduced as a requirement in the 4th school year. However, it can be started earlier and some of the bigger schools in cities and towns do so. By law, **English** is the second language for those whose mother tongue is Sinhalese or Tamil (p. 20).

Se also chapter 8.

Costa Rica
No foreign language is taught in the State primary schools (p. 20)

Denmark
English is introduced at the secondary stage, but some experimental work to introduce English to younger children at the primary stage is carried out by the Institute of Educational Research.

Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin
In primary schools a foreign language, usually **English**, sometimes **French**, as an optional subject is frequently taught from about 10 or 11 upwards. In some places, e. g. Berlin and Hamburg, a foreign language is compulsory. Experimental work in language teaching at a lower level, from 8 or 9, occurs in a few places (e. g. Kassel).

See also chapters 14 and 18.

Finland
The Constitution of Finland guarantees equal rights to the two official languages of the country, Finnish and Swedish. Normally schools are one-language schools, Finnish being the language for Finnish schools and Swedish in elementary schools for Swedish-speaking children. As all elementary schools enjoy much freedom, many have introduced courses in the other national language (**Finnish, Swedish**) or even in a foreign language, usually **English** (p. 21).

France
In the elementary schools there is no provision for the study of a modern foreign language, but as a result of local enterprise due especially to the system of "pairing" with a foreign school, experimental and provisional courses in modern languages have been introduced in the primary school.

The order of the 1st August, 1957, together with the Circular of the 24th May, 1958, authorized the opening of experimental primary classes in foreign languages (p. 23).

See also chapters 13 and 18.

Hungary
At 10+ all pupils are required to take **Russian** three hours a week as their first foreign language. In regions with a mixed population, or with non-Hungarian nationalities, two types of schools are provided: (a) Primary schools in which the language of the non-Hungarian population is used as the language of instruction. Conversational study of **Hungarian** is begun in the first grade (pupils aged 6) and **Russian** in the fifth grade (pupils aged 10); (b) Schools in which the language of the non-Hungarian population is taught as a second language concurrently with Hungarian, starting in the 1st grade (pupils aged 6) (p. 26–27).

See also chapter 10.

India
Hindi, as the official language of the Union, and **English** are taught as second languages at the secondary stage of education, with a few exceptions in which they are taught also at the primary level.

See also chapter 10.

Indonesia
The Indonesian Nation is based on various ethnic groups, with their own mother tongue which constitutes their first language. The National or Indonesian language, **Bahas Indonesia,** is in fact a second language for each group. It is taught in the third year as a subject (p. 29).

Italy
No foreign languages are taught in primary schools. The following exceptions should be noted:
(a) The bilingual elementary schools in the Italian valley d'Aosta, where **French** is taught;
(b) Experimental **French** and **English** classes for children in eight elementary schools in Florence;
(c) The teaching of a foreign language, e. g. English, in some private schools, in one case from 5 years upwards. (Titone, c. p.)

Israel
In Hebrew State elementary schools, the principal foreign language **(English)** is taught from grade six to eight (i. e. 11–12 years plus). In Arabic State schools **Hebrew** is begun in grade 4 (i. e. 9–10 years). In Christian private schools, **Hebrew** and **English** are taught from the third year if not earlier (p. 29–30).

Japan
Second language teaching **(English)** only from the first year of the lower secondary school upwards (p. 30–31).

Kenya

See chapter 8.

Korea
Second language teaching is first introduced into middle and high schools (p. 31–32).

Kuwait
English is introduced in the first class of the intermediate stage after four years of the primary cycle (p. 32).

Luxembourg
German is started in the primary school, **French** in the third term of the second school year (p. 33).

Morocco
Since independence, Arabic is the first language in primary schools, and **French** is introduced as a second language from the third year onwards.

Netherlands
No general teaching of foreign languages in primary schools in the Netherlands, but experiments have been carried out at eight elementary schools in Arnhem. For a quarter of an hour pupils in the third year and higher (9 years and older) receive instruction in **French, German, English** and **Esperanto** by audiolingual methods.

In the Province of Friesland, Frisian is the language of instruction in the first and second years of education. In the third and subsequent years, teaching is generally in **Dutch** (p. 33–35).
The teaching of **French** to younger children for two or more years semi-privately in preparation for admission to academic secondary school courses is fairly widespread.

See also chapters 1 and 10.

New Zealand
Optional study of another language **(French)** begun in general at the beginning of secondary schooling (p. 36).

Nigeria

See chapter 8.

Norway
Foreign languages may be taught in primary schools. **English** has been introduced there from the sixth year (pupils aged 12–13) (p. 36–37).

Pakistan
English has now been accepted as a second language and, with effect from 1st July 1961, has been introduced in the third year (p. 37).

Spain
No provision exists for the teaching of a second language in primary education. In private schools and those directed by religious orders, the teaching of **French** is common often from 5 years upwards.

Sudan
Second language teaching (**English**) is introduced at the beginning of the second 4-year cycle of State education (at about the age of 11 years). (p. 39–40).

Sweden
English is introduced into primary schools at the beginning of the fourth school year, if qualified teachers are available.

Experimentally, children at 40 different schools started in 1957 with an audio-visual course named "English without a Book", during their first year at school at a stage when they still could not read or write in their own language.

See chapter 11.

Switzerland
In German-speaking Switzerland, **French** is an optional subject in the primary schools of some Cantons. In French-speaking Switzerland, **German** is a compulsory subject. In Italian-speaking schools, **French** is compulsory in the last three years of the primary school course (p. 41–42).

Thailand
The teaching of a second language at the primary stage is not encouraged, except where certain languages other than Thai are commonly used in daily life. Here **English** or **Chinese** is sometimes taught as a second language at the primary stage. In upper elementary classes and upper secondary classes, **English** is compulsory (p. 42).

U.S.S.R.
Russian is taught as a second language either from the second half of the first grade, or in the second grade (p. 42).

Foreign language teaching in infants' schools in urban areas is widespread. Experimentally for the last three years, foreign language learning has been introduced in Leningrad for nursery children: 48 groups of 15–20 children each are now affected by this experiment.

See chapter 17.

United Arab Republic
At the primary stage children are not taught a foreign language (p. 44).

United Kingdom – England
A few primary schools offer **French** as a first foreign language on an experimental basis in various parts of the country (p. 45).

See chapter 15.

United Kingdom – Wales
The second language, **English** or **Welsh**, is introduced formally at about the age of 7 or 8 years (p. 45).

Experimentally, English-speaking children have been introduced to **Welsh** at the infants school stage from 5 years upwards in some 40 schools.

See chapter 9.

United Kingdom – Scotland
Where in Scottish Primary Schools there are Gaelic-speaking children (relatively few), **English** is taught as a second language (p. 45).

United Kingdom – Northern Ireland
Same as in England (p. 45).

U.S.A.
The introduction of foreign language study (i. **Spanish,** ii. **French**) in many elementary schools, most frequently in grade 3 or 4, is a significant advance in recent years (p. 47–51).

See chapter 12.

Uruguay
No foreign language is taught in primary schools (p. 51).

Viet-Nam
No foreign language is taught in primary schools (p. 51).

APPENDIX 3

Acquiring a second language in Brussels: a case-study in bilingualism

LIVIA STIJNS

When I was born in the mid-twenties, the population of the Brussels area amounted to some 850,000 inhabitants, of whom 36 per cent could speak French only, 16 per cent Flemish only, and 48 per cent were bilingual—63 per cent currently using French and 37 per cent Flemish; nearly half of the population were bilingual, while French was more commonly used as a medium of expression. My parents were Flemish both by origin (with the exception of a Walloon mother on my father's side) and by inclination; they knew and appreciated French, but their home language was standard Dutch, the use of which they strongly advocated in public life and in education.

Unfortunately, as there was no Dutch-medium school within easy reach of our home, my pre-primary and primary schooling took place entirely in French. This did not bewilder me in the least. The transition to a second language, which was but one change among so many others, did not strike me as the most significant one. In fact, I was more nonplussed by the switch to a new kind of writing; with my parents I had learnt to read Dutch from printed books, but at school our French primer was based on script handwriting and rather unexpectedly separated the syllables by the same thick spaces as it did the words themselves, so that, not knowing French, I happened to couple in one breath syllables belonging to different words!

This difficulty was quickly overcome. I easily grew accustomed to the new medium and soon was heading my class. Nobody ever made fun of my way of speaking. True to say, I was no exception. The majority of my schoolmates belonged to bilingual families. Though French was the medium of instruction, periods for Dutch were set aside in the time-table from the first grade on[1]. Besides, the large enrolment made it possible to distribute the pupils between a "weak Flemish" and a "strong Flemish" section according to their degree of familiarity with that language when joining the school. Naturally, I fell within the latter group. Some pupils in my form were of an even purer Flemish stock than I was and would use some kind of Flemish patois whenever addressing one another, but I did not mix readily with them; they came from rural homes near Brussels and I was feeling more akin to my urban schoolmates. I even made a point of speaking French with my friends. The difference in social extraction therefore took the upper hand over the language opposition.

Educators have often advanced that early bilingualism results in children distorting both component languages through intermingling. Was I a victim to this kind of cross-fertilization? I can only remember one instance when my father having drawn animals on a sheet of paper I mistook the Dutch word "haan" (cock) for its French homophone "âne" (donkey). My father was furious and felt all the more indignant at having to send me to a French-medium school as the latter started spreading confusion in my mind. It is true that confusion is for the human mind a native condition which can only be transcended through a succession of self-critical endeavours. An infant, as he learns to speak, will quite normally mix genders, endings, etc. He comes to master his own mother-tongue only through untiring self-correction. If he is learning two languages at the same time, the resulting interferences will be but a specific illustration of this most natural phenomenon.

When I was ten, my father thought of shifting me to a more distant, Dutch-medium school. I regretted leaving a school and the schoolmates that were dear to my heart, and my first contact with the new school environment was a disaster. The rule was to have newcomers tested before they were detailed to their respective forms. Accommodation being rather scarce, we were all confined to one small dark room and, as my previous school record absolved me from going through the examination, I had to sit passively and watch what the others were undergoing without my understanding much of it since the majority of them were older and educationally more advanced than I was. I felt so discouraged by this ordeal that my parents had to give up and enrol me again in my former school.

---

[1] In the Brussels area, the teaching of the second national language is compulsory, 3 to 6 hours per week, as from the third primary grade. It may be introduced—and is actually introduced in several communes—at an earlier stage if permission to that effect is granted by royal order.

The year after, the school was divided up into two streams and, along with several of my schoolmates and even with my own schoolmistress, I pioneered in the Dutch-medium stream—which created no problems. My lack of tolerance the previous year was not to be ascribed to the change in languages, but rather to segregation and loneliness. If a young child feels out of place in a foreign school, this is due to emotional factors more than to intellectual difficulties. The following year, at the age of twelve, I joined a girls' high school where all my secondary education was to take place in Dutch. The adaptation was easy. The school population consisted of boarders and day-pupils, each group standing as a clear-cut entity. The boarders were girls from the Flemish provinces, most of them belonging to rural homes, and they had had but rare contacts with the French language[2]. The day-pupils lived in Brussels and could speak both languages. Their general outlook as well as their way of life were different. I was a day-pupil and I became more intimate with two other day-pupils who, like myself, had graduated from a French-speaking primary school. This common origin, I believe, was only one component in our friendship, which was finding a firmer ground in our affinities in character and tastes. Anyhow our earlier schooling through a different medium did not prevent the three of us from being at the top of our class.

The school regulations made it compulsory for the pupils to speak French two days per week during the intervals, yet this provision was very seldom enforced as the teachers were reluctant to cramp our leisure time that way. So most pupils usually spoke Dutch among themselves. My two friends and I used to speak Dutch with the others, but French among ourselves, unless our talk had a bearing on a school subject for which we did not have the specialized vocabulary in French. Later on, without forsaking the trio, I became friends with another girl from Brussels, who was also bilingual but wrote Flemish poetry and aspired to renovate the Flemish drama in Brussels; with her, I would talk Dutch.

Of course, we were taught French as a second language[3]. German was added when I was 14, then English when I was 15. My achievements in the German and English classes stood in contrast with the easy manner in which I had acquired French. Despite the novelty and, at a later stage, the professional interest which attracted me to these two languages, I cannot claim to be fluent in them and speaking either is like having to negotiate a succession of hurdles in a steeplechase. The second language spontaneously acquired in my early childhood has somehow become my second mother-tongue; the foreign languages which I learnt later on in a more academic fashion remain outside tools. The content matter also is not the same; in the first case, one takes as one's own whatever in the language is innermost, personal, original, the very essence of all the language resources; in the other, one just stores up the various layers of acquired knowledge (commonplaces, set rules, stock phrases, etc.). On the one hand, one has a share in the creative power of the language; on the other, one can but register the time-honoured practice of it.

My university studies took place at Ghent, where lectures, friends and environment were entirely Flemish (some of my fellow-students were more familiar with German or English than with French); then various scholarships enabled me to complete my studies in France. I really felt at home in both places. Finally, I took up work as a librarian at Ghent University, with Dutch as the medium of expression. I was transferred to the Royal Library in Brussels, where Dutch and French were of nearly equal use to me. After that I was seconded to an international organization in Paris, where I have settled down, so that nowadays I practically speak nothing but French, although I keep on writing in both languages.

As for the books I used to read, they were equally distributed between French and Dutch until I was admitted to university. From then on, Dutch kept losing ground; I had made up my mind to specialize in philosophy, which I had come across through reading the Ancient Greeks, and the extreme scarcity of Belgian literature—both in Dutch and in French—on a subject which is generally felt as too abstract by my own countrymen, compelled me to look across the border for original reading material. Maybe this is how I have come to join the emigrant body, a fairly common happening with Belgians, when in search of something more inspiring than the national cult of work and comfort.

---

[2] In unilingual areas, the second language may only be taught from the fifth grade onward.

[3] In the Brussels area and in bilingual communes, the second language must be either Dutch or French. In Flanders and in the Walloon country, it may also be English or German; but the second **national** language is usually preferred.

To sum up, bilingualism in the Brussels area appears like an inextricable aggregate of components, each of which can be sensed in the city, in the homes, in the schools with varying degrees of intensity but rarely unalloyed. The environment, the various environments carried both languages in the bud, and I took in both without even being aware of it. Nobody around me, it must be stressed, showed hatred or contempt for either language, so that no emotional obstacle ever hindered my progress.

Such is not always the case in Belgium. The language problem is often turned into a language squabble, for the language boundary separating the Belgians is not to be taken as a mere geographical fact; in certain cities in Flanders it also used to stand as a social barrier between the French-speaking bourgeoisie and the Flemish-speaking lower classes. Economic and political factors have thus come to blur a purely linguistic issue. In 1932, when the statutes now governing the use of languages in public and grant-aided schools were passed, the main concern of each community was to safeguard its own linguistic unity; so the rule came to be that the medium of instruction in schools should be the language spoken in the area, Dutch in Flanders and French in the Walloon country[4]). In the unilingual areas, the teaching of the second language was not to be started before the fifth primary grade and it only became compulsory in secondary schools. Educators in those days—maybe they thought more like human beings than real scholars—generally assumed that the early acquisition of a second language was detrimental to the overall development of the child. Nevertheless, in the Brussels area and in the bilingual communes the pressure of circumstances has been sufficiently strong to introduce the teaching of the second language at an earlier stage; there school-children attend either a French or a Dutch-medium school, depending on their father's own language, and they are taught the other language from the third primary grade onward; a special royal order can even authorize its earlier introduction if advisable[5]). The statutes made provision for the establishment, in certain cities in Flanders, of "transmutation" primary classes with the purpose of facilitating the passage of French-speaking children to a Dutch-medium school. In point of fact, such classes have rather contributed to perpetuate French-medium schools in Flanders. The language bills now being discussed in Parliament will presumably do away with them, for the present trend is towards re-inforcing the exclusive use of each language within its own area.

Indeed few are the Belgians who would speak up in favour of bilingualism. One might lay down as a law of experience that wherever two languages are being confronted, one will hold a stronger position over the other; native speakers of this predominant language will in no way feel it necessary to become acquainted with the other; native speakers of the underprivileged language will fight shy of learning the other, as this would seal the doom of their own language; bilingualism is bound to encourage individuals to slip gradually from one language system into the other, the language eventually to supersede the other being not so much the one which was acquired first as the one which has proved to be predominant. If both Dutch and French do have an equal cultural standing in Belgium, their dissemination is not the same abroad. The expansion of French tips the scales in its favour; hence among the Walloons a certain depreciation of Dutch, the use of which does not seem to pay, and among the Flemish a certain resentfulness against French, which might supplant their own language. Statistics seem to bear out this apprehension since they show in the Brussels area an increasing use of French parallel to a growing number of bilingual people. The law of language transfer, as formulated above, is confirmed in actual facts. Yet, the Walloons would be mistaken to take the superiority of French as absolutely for granted, when the standing of a language is all but relative; if one were to use their own yardstick of expansion, the French language might be on the wane in this world of ours.

---

[4]) For the school year 1959—60, there were 902,410 primary school pupils in Belgium, of whom 508,437 attended Dutch-medium schools, 389,470 French-medium schools, and 4,503 German-medium schools (Eupen and Malmedy area).

[5]) For the school year 1960—61, there were 85,907 primary school pupils in the Brussels area, of whom 66,384 attended French-medium schools, and 19,523 Dutch-medium schools.

APPENDIX 4

Notes on documentation

The following suggestions were sent with the working paper to participants at the Hamburg conference and numerous other persons interested in the problem of language learning at the primary stage.

Participants to be invited to the conference in Hamburg are asked to send in, by 1st March, in preparation of the meeting, a paper or detailed memorandum on the subject to be discussed. For topics see below. As it will be possible to invite only a small number of experts, it is hoped to make available the experience of other consultants by written reports. It is planned that the documentation, wholly or in parts, will form the basis of a later publication.
Of particular importance as evidence to be considered are reports on:
Experiences and experiments in the teaching of foreign or second languages at the primary stage of education, with special emphasis on the younger age groups.
(For detailed suggestions see NOTES below)
Further reports on the following subjects will also be invited:

1. **An assessment of arguments for early learning of a foreign language based on neuro-physiological evidence.**
2. **Consideration of the evidence of bilingualism.** (How far do studies of bilingualism lend support to the view that an early start is desirable?)
3. **Age, aptitude and other psychological factors in foreign language learning.**
4. **The teaching of a foreign language in relation to the problems, curriculum and methods of primary education.**

Suggestions for other topics will be gladly considered.
Participants or consultants contributing papers and memoranda on the above topics are asked to include in their report:
(a) a statement of problems needing further investigation;
(b) a list of persons and institutions interested and experienced in the teaching of foreign or second languages at the primary stage (giving details and including full addresses as well as indicating particular interests or competence);
(c) a bibliography listing references, preferably with comments, to relevant published and unpublished studies.
Offprints, copies of books and pamphlets as well as syllabuses and illustrative teaching matter (textbooks, examination papers, children's work, tape-recordings, etc.) would also be welcome.

NOTES for reports on:

> **Experiences and experiments in the teaching of foreign or second languages at the primary stage of education, with special emphasis on the younger age groups.**

If your report deals with this subject it would be appreciated if you kept in mind the following points and followed, as far as possible, the suggested plan and numbering.
1. Relevant linguistic, educational, socio-political and economic background factors of the communities to which this report refers, including: Recognized need for foreign language knowledge; socio-political and economic motives. Relevant aspects of school structure (especially defining the meaning of the term primary school or its equivalent, as it is understood in the country concerned). Position of foreign languages in the educational system (normal starting age, languages normally taught, selection of pupils, if any).
2. Some facts on language teaching at the primary stage of education in the country concerned. History of the practice or experiment. Is an 'early start' common or frequent practice, or a limited experiment? Give details: starting age of children and school year; length (in years) of foreign/second language courses; hours per week for such language work. Which language(s) is/are

taught at the primary level? Teachers native speakers? Specialists? What training for language teachers at this level?

(Please note that information under this heading should refer specifically to the teaching and learning of a foreign language in the primary school.)

3. **Arguments and reasons for (or against) an early start in language teaching in the communities to which the report refers.** Why was the practice introduced or experiment carried out? What opposition is/was there to the practice? Official support? individual enthusiasm?

4. **Describe in as much detail as possible the aims, method and content of foreign language work in the primary years.** (Please indicate grade and average age to which items of information refer.) Include under this heading an outline of typical lessons or work: one of the first lessons; a lesson after six months; a lesson in the second year. Describe teaching methods and materials, use of textbooks, audio-visual aids, etc.

5. **Evaluation of results.** How have results been assessed? What are estimated merits of an early start? Any negative outcome?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Bibliographical Index[1]

of titles referred to in the text of this report. Figures in square brackets indicate pages on which the reference in the text occurs.

Adams, A. E., **Notes on Modern Languages in the Primary School in England in relation to the General Primary School Curriculum.** Conference paper. [51–53]

Alkonis, Nancy V., and **Brophy,** Mary A., **A Survey of FLES Practices.** New York: Modern Language Association of America 1961. [44]

Andersson, Theodore, **The Teaching of Foreign Languages in the Elementary School.** Boston: Heath & Co, 1953. [44]

Andersson, Theodore, "Modern Language Teaching in Primary Schools", Unesco 1955. [12]

Andersson, Theodore, "The Optimum Age for Beginning the Study of Modern Languages". **International Review of Education** vol. 6, 1960, no. 3. pp. 298–306. [24, 47]

Andersson, Theodore, "After FLES – What?" **The Educational Forum,** November 1961. [47]

Andersson, Theodore, **Notes on the Teaching of Modern Foreign Languages in the Elementary Schools of the United States of America.** Conference paper. [44–47]

Berko, Jean, and **Brown,** Roger. "Psycholinguistic research methods". pp. 517–557 in Mussen, Paul H. (Ed.). **Handbook of research methods in child development.** New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1960. [77]

Bewer, U. and **Spangenberg,** K.,**The German-American Community School.** Conference paper. [60–61]

Birkmaier, E. M., and others, **Materials for Teaching German in the Elementary School.** Wabash College. Crawfordsville, Indiana, 1955. [69]

Birkmaier, E. M., "Modern Languages in the Elementary School Curriculum". **Encyclopedia of Educational Research,** 3rd edition, New York: Macmillan 1960. [44]

Bradley, P., **The Teaching of English as a second language in primary schools in Western Region, Nigeria.** Conference paper. [13, 31]

Breunig, Marjorie, **Foreign Languages in the Elementary Schools of the United States.** New York: Modern Language Association of America 1961. [44]

Carroll, John B., **The Study of Language.** Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1955. [72]

Carroll, John B., "Language development". pp. 744–752 in Harris, Chester W. (Ed.) **Encyclopedia of Educational Research.** New York: Macmillan Co., 1960 (a). [21, 77]

Carroll, John B., "Wanted: A Research Basis for Educational Policy on Foreign Language Teaching". **Harvard Educational Review.** Vol. 30, no. 2., pp. 128–140, 1960 (b). [25, 47, 72]

Carroll, John B., "Foreign Languages for Children: What Research Says". **The National Elementary Principal,** pp. 12–15, May 1960 (c). [25, 47, 72]

Carroll, John B., **Research on Teaching Foreign Languages.** Ann Arbor: University of Michigan 1961 (published in **Carroll,** 1963, below). [17]

Carroll, John B., "The prediction of success in intensive foreign language training". pp. 87–136 in Glaser, Robert (Ed.) **Training research and education.** Pittsburgh, Pa.: Univ. of Pittsburg Press, 1962. [78]

Carroll, John B., "Research on teaching foreign languages". Chap. 21, in Gage, N. L. (Ed.) **Handbook of Research on Teaching.** Chicago: Rand McNally Co., 1963 [17]

Carroll, John B. and **Sapon,** S. M., **Modern Language Aptitude Test (MLAT).** New York: Psychological Corporation 1958. [25, 78]

Catford, J. C., **The Teaching of English.** Studies in Communication, No. 3, London: Secker and Warburg 1959. [9]

Central Advisory Council for Education in Wales, The Place of Welsh and English in the Schools of Wales. London: H.M.S.O. 1953. [35]

Chari, A., **Second Language Teaching in India.** Conference paper. [39–40]

Cohen, G. and **Aronson,** R., **A Survey of the Teaching of English in Elementary and Secondary Schools.** Under the direction of G. Ortar. General discussion of findings. A preliminary report. Submitted to the Annual Conference of Secondary School English Teachers held by the School of Education, the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1961. [43]

---

1) See also the list of teacher's guides, textbooks and teaching aids and materials in chapter 19 above, pp. 68–70.

Cohen, R. C., **English–French Bilingualism at the Ecole Active Bilingue – Ecole Internationale de Paris.** Conference paper. [49, 57–58]

De Barrio, Foreign Languages for Young Children in Argentina. Conference paper. [54]

"Der Fremdsprachenunterricht im Kindergarten und in Kursen für Kinder" (Bulgarien). **Vergleichende Pädagogik.** Vol. 1, 1961. Heft 1. [38]

Doyé, P., "Sprachunterricht für alle?" **Die Deutsche Schule** vol. 54, no. 7/8 (Jul./Aug. 1962), pp. 354–376. [50]

Dunkel, Harold B., **Second-language learning.** Boston: Ginn & Co., 1948. [72]

Dunkel, Harold B. and **Pillet,** Roger, "The French Program in the University of Chicago Elementary School". **Elementary School Journal,** vol. 57, pp. 17–27, October 1956. [46]

Dunkel, Harold B. and **Pillet,** Roger, "A Second Year of French in Elementary School". **Elementary School Journal,** vol. 58, pp. 143–151, December 1957. [46]

Dunkel, Harold B. and **Pillet,** Roger, "A Third Year of French in Elementary School". **Elementary School Journal,** vol. 59, pp. 264–6, February 1959. [46]

Dunkel, Harold B. and **Pillet,** Roger, **French in the Elementary School: Five Years' Experience.** Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1962. [46, 47, 79]

Ellert, Ernest E. and **Ellert,** Lois V., **German for Elementary School Children: A Teacher's Manual.** Rev. ed. Holland, Mich.: Hope College 1959. [69]

Ellison, Fred, **Flores,** Joseph and **Johnson,** Charles, **The University of Illinois Experiment in FLES, A Progress Report.** Urbana: University of Illinois, November 1960 (mimeographed.) [46]

Ervin, Susan, and **Miller,** Wick, R., "Language development". Chapter III in the **62nd Yearbrook, National Society for the Study of Education.** Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1963. [21, 77]

Féraud, P., **Enseignement des langues vivantes dans les Ecoles Primaires de la ville de Paris et du Département de la Seine.** Conference paper. [48]

Féraud, P., «L'enseignement des langues vivantes dans les classes primaires». **Les Amis de Sèvres.** No. spécial sur l'enseignement des langues, no. 41, 1961. pp. 17–22. [48]

Gardner, R. C., and **Lambert,** W. E., "Motivational variables in second-language acquisition". **Canadian Journal of Psychology,** 1959, vol. 13, pp. 266–272. [26, 74]

Garry, Ralph and **Mauriello,** Edna, **Summary of Research on "Parlons Français". First Year Program.** Massachusetts Concil for Public Schools, Modern Language Project, 1960. (mimeographed.) [46]

Garry, Ralph and **Mauriello,** Edna, **Summary of Research on "Parlons Français". Year Two.** Massachusetts Council for Public Schools, Modern Language Project, 1962. (mimeographed.) [46]

Gauvenet, Hélène et **Ferenczi,** Victor, **Le Français par l'audio-visuel.** Méthodes d'enseignement audiovisuel du français destinées aux adultes et aux enfants, Paris 1961. (pamphlet.) [48]

Geigle, Ralph C., "Foreign Language and Basic Learnings". **Elementary School Journal,** Vol. 57, p. 418, May 1957. [47]

Gesell, A. and **Ilg,** F. L., **The Child from 5–10.** New York: Harper 1946. [22]

Gineste, R., **La pratique de l'enseignement d'une langue vivante européenne au premier stade d'éducation et particulièrement pour les groupes d'âge les plus jeunes, dans les états africains et malgache d'expression française.** Conference paper. [31, 32]

Ginsberg, V. S., "An Experiment in Teaching Pre-School Children a Foreign Language". Soviet Education Reprints. **Sovetskaia Pedagogika** 1960, no. 5. [55–56]

Glees, Paul, **Experimental Neurology.** Oxford: Clarenden Press 1961 [27]

Gorosch, M., **Preliminary Report on English without a Book.** Stockholm: University of Stockholm Institute of Phonetics 1962. (mimeographed.) [41–43]

Harding, D. H., **Foreign Language Teaching in Primary Schools in Leeds, 1962.** Conference paper. [52–53]

Hebb, D. O., **The Organization of Behavior: a neuro-psychological theory.** New York: Wiley; London: Chapman and Hall 1949. [27]

Hebb, D. O., **A Textbook of Psychology.** Philadelphia, London: Saunders 1958. [27]

Henmon, V.A.C., "Recent developments in the construction, evaluation, and use of tests in the modern foreign languages". In Coleman, A. (Ed.), **Experiments and studies in modern foreign language teaching.** Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1934. pp. 191–218. [11]

Irwin, Orvis C., "Language and communication". Pp. 487–516 in Mussen, Paul H. (Ed.) **Handbook or Research Methods in Child Development.** New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1960. [77]

István, La situation et les problèmes de l'enseignement des langues vivantes aux enfants de 8 à 10 ans en Hongrie. Conference paper. [38–39]

Johnson, Charles E., **Flores,** Joseph S. and **Ellison,** Fred P., "The Effect of Foreign Language Instruction on Basic Learning in Elementary Schools". **Modern Foreign Language Journal,** Vol. 45 no. 5, May 1961. [46]

Johnson, C. E., **Flores**, J. S., **Ellison**, F. P. and **Riestra** M. A., Preliminary Report III: "A summary of the major findings at the close of the third year of the Study of the Development of Methods and Materials to Facilitate Foreign Language Instruction in Elementary Schools". Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois 1962. (mimeographed.) [46]

Jones, W. R., "Attitude towards Welsh as a second language. A preliminary investigation". **British Journal of Educational Psychology**, 1949, vol. 19, pp. 44–52. [26]

Jones, W. R., "Attitude towards Welsh as a second language. A further investigation". **British Journal of Educational Psychology**. vol. 20, 1950, pp. 117–132. [26]

Keesee, Elizabeth, **References on Foreign Languages in the Elementary School.** Washington: U.S. Office of Education 1960a (circular no. 495, revised). [44, 69]

Keesee, Elizabeth, **Modern Foreign Languages in the Elementary School. Teaching Techniques.** Washington: Office of Education 1960b. [69]

Kellermann, M., **Report on the Talbot Road, Leeds, Experiment, 1961.** Conference paper. [52–57]

Lambert, Wallace E., **Psychological Approaches to the Study of Language.** Working paper for a Seminar on Language Teacher Training, initiated by the Department of Romance Languages and Literature of the University of Washington, Summer 1962. (mimeographed.) [18, 19, 20, 26]

Lambert, Wallace E., **Gardner**, Robert C. and **Olton**, Robert. **A Study of the Roles of Attitudes and Motivation in Second Language Learning.** Final Technical Report, November 25, 1961. (mimeographed.) [26]

Lambert, W. E., **Havelka**, J., and **Crosby**, C. "The influence of language-acquisition contexts on bilingualism". **Journal of abnormal social Psychology**, 1958, vol. 56, pp. 239–244. [75]

Léandri, F. and **Féraud**, P., «Les langues étrangères à l'école maternelle». **L'Ecole Maternelle Française**, March 1962, no. 6. [49]

Leopold, Werner F., **Speech development of a bilingual child.** 4 vols. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern Univ. Press 1939–1950. [69]

Ludovicy, E., **Les Ecoles internationales (Les Ecoles Européennes).** Vienna Conference, FIVSP, 1962. [59–60]

Levenson, S., "The Current Status of FLES Teaching in the U.S." **Phi Delta Kappa**, March 1961, 265–268. [44]

Malandain, C., **Recherche sur la compréhension du film fixe par les enfants de 8 à 12 ans.** Enquête réalisée par le Service d'Etudes Psycho-Pédagogiques au Centre de Recherches et d'Etudes pour la Diffusion du Français. (mimeographed.) [48]

McCarthy, Dorothy. "Language Development in Children". **Manual of Child Psychology.** Ed. L. Carmichael. New York: Wiley 1954 (2nd ed.) p. 494. [21]

Mildenberger, K. W., "Recent Developments in Foreign Language Teaching in American Schools and Colleges". **International Review of Education**, vol. 7, 1962, no. 4, pp. 402–411. [12]

Milner, P. M., Book review of **Speech and Brain Mechanisms** by W. Penfield and L. Roberts. **Canadian Journal of Psychology**, vol. 14, pp. 140–143, 1960. [27]

Ministry of Education, Pamphlet No. 29: Modern Languages. London: H. M. Stat. Office 1956. [51]

Ministry of Education, Suggestions for the consideration of teachers and others concerned with the work of the primary schools. London: H. M. Stat. Office 1959. [51]

Modern Language Association of America, FL Bulletin 49: Childhood and Second Language Learning. New York: Modern Language Association of America 1956. (re-issued 1961.) [12, 22]

Modern Language Association of America, Reports of Surveys and Studies in the Teaching of Modern Foreign Languages. 1959–1961. New York 1961. [79]

Nostrand, Howard Lee and others. **Research on language teaching: an annotated international bibliography for 1945–1961.** Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1962. [72]

Nuffield Foundation, Leeds Language Teaching Conference. Conference paper. [52]

O'Doherty, E. F., **The evidence of bilingualism and the problem of an early start in learning a foreign language.** Conference paper. [17, 18, 20]

Ollmann, M. J. (edit.), **MLA Selective List of Materials** for use by Teachers of Modern Foreign Languages in Elementary and Secondary Schools. (Languages treated include French, German, Italian, Modern Hebrew, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, Swedish.) 1962. [69]

Orata, Pedro T., "The Iloilo experiment in education through the vernacular". Pp. 123–131 in Unesco, 1953. [78]

Parker, William, **The National Interest and Foreign Languages.** 3rd ed., rev. Washington, D. C.: Superintendent of Documents, Governement Printing Office 1962. [45]

Peal, E. and **Lambert**, W. E., "The relation of bilingualism to intelligence". **Psychological Monographs** 1962. [26]

Penfield, W. G., "A Consideration of Neurophysiological Mechanisms of Speech and Some Educational Consequences". **Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences**, Vol. 82, no. 5., Feb. 1953, pp. 199–214. [12, 27]

Penfield, W. G. and **Roberts,** L., **Speech and Brain-Mechanisms.** Princeton: University Press 1959, London: O.U.P. [27]

Perren, G. E., "Training and Research in English Teaching: The Work of the Special Centre in Nairobi". **Oversea Education** [31]

Vol. XXXI, Part 1, No. 2, July 1959, pp. 50–57;

Vol. XXXI, Part 2, No. 3, Oct. 1959, pp. 125–133;

Vol. XXXI, Part 3, No. 4, Jan. 1960, pp. 156–165.

Perren, G. E., **Teaching English as a Second Language to Younger Children in Africa.** Conference paper. [16, 26, 32]

„Pflege der fremden Sprachen". **Bildungsplan für die Berliner Grundschule.** Berlin: Senator für Volksbildung (Entwurf 1962). [50]

Prator, Clifford H., Jr. **Language teaching in the Philippines.** U.S. Educational Foundation in the Philippines 1950. [78]

Preissler, G., **Bericht des Arbeitskreises für Versuche des Englischunterrichtes an allgemeinbildenden Schulen vom 3. bis 6. Schuljahr.** Conference paper. [50]

Rahmani, A., **L'Enseignement trilingue dans les écoles de l'A.I.U.** Conference paper. [57]

Roucek, J. S., "Some Educational Problems of Children from Immigrant, Refugee and Migrant Families in U.S.A.", **International Review of Education,** vol. 8, 1962, no. 2, pp. 225–235. [14]

Rubin, Joan, "Bilingualism in Paraguay". **Anthropological Linguistics,** 1962, vol. 4, pp. 52–58. [74]

Schneider, H. R., „Der Fremdsprachenunterricht in der Berliner Grundschule". **Berliner Lehrerzeitung,** nr. 2, Jg. 11, 31. Jan. 1957, pp. 26–28. [50]

Sledd, J., **Report on the Conference of Teachers of English held at the University of Ceylon, Peradeniya, 1960.** (mimeographed.) [31]

Stern, H. H., **Foreign Languages in Primary Education in England.** Conference paper. [51–53]

Stijns, L., **Acquiring a second language in Brussels: a case-study in bilingualism.** Conference paper. [31, Appendix 3]

Tallard, G., **L'expérience de l'école SHAPE en France.** Conference paper. [59]

Taylor, G., "La Langue Vivante in Leeds". **Education,** 5th January 1962. [52]

Titone, R., "Difficulties on the part of Italian younger adolescents in the perception of some phonological features of the English and French languages". **Orientamenti Pedagogici,** 1961, vol. 8, pp. 684–716. [81]

Titone, R., **Notes on teaching foreign languages in junior schools in Italy.** Conference paper (paper 1.) [31]

Titone, R., **Age aptitude and other psychological factors in the foreign language learning of children below eleven years.** Conference paper (paper 2.) [17]

Tomb, J. W., "On the Intuitive Capacity of Children to Understand Spoken Language". **British Journal of Psychology,** vol. 6, pp. 53–5, 1925. [17]

Unesco, The Teaching of Modern Languages. A volume of studies deriving from the International Seminar organized by the Secretariat of Unesco at Nuwara Eliya, Ceylon, in August 1953. Volume X of series "Problems in Education". Paris: Unesco 1955. [12]

L'enseignement des langues vivantes. Recueil d'études rédigées à l'occasion du stage international organisé par l'Unesco à Nuwara Eliya (Ceylan) en août 1953. Paris: Unesco 1955.

Unesco, The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education. Monographs on Fundamental Education VIII: Unesco, Paris 1953. [14]

L'emploi des langues vernaculaires dans l'enseignement. Paris: Unesco 1953.

Unesco, World Survey of Education II: Primary Education. Paris: Unesco 1958 [7]

Unesco, Education Abstracts, vol. 13, no. 3, 1961. "Second Language Teaching in Primary and Secondary Schools". [Appendix 2]

Unesco, The Teaching of Foreign Languages in the Current Programme of Unesco 1961–62. Conference paper [7–8]

van Willigen, D. M., **Notes on the study of foreign languages in the primary school in the Netherlands.** Conference paper. [11, 41]

Wall, W. D., **Education and Mental Health.** London, etc.: Unesco/Harrap 1955 [12]

Williams, J. L., **Notes on early second language teaching in Wales.** Conference paper. [36–39]

Williams, J. L., **Monoglot or Bilingual?** Inaugural Lecture delivered in the Examination Hall of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, 31 st January 1962. (mimeographed.) [13, 17–18, 20]

II. Additional references

Andersson, Theodore, "The Teaching of Foreign Language in the Elementary Schools: Issues and Implications". **Education,** Vol. 75 (April) 1955, pp. 490–497.

Andersson, Theodore, "Too Young to Learn a Foreign Language?" **Unesco Courier,** no. 1, 1954.

Axelrod, J. and **Bigelow,** D. N., **Resources for Language and Area Studies.** Washington D.C.: American Council on Education 1962.

Angiolillo, Paul, "French for the Feeble-Minded: An Experiment". **Modern Language Journal,** vol. 26, pp. 266–71, April 1942.

Birkmaier, Emma Marie, "Should Young Children Learn a Foreign Language?" **Family Circle Magazine,** February 1955.

Bovee, Arthur and **Froehlich,** Gustav, "Some Observations on the Relationship Between Mental Ability and Achievement in French". **Modern Language Journal,** vol. 30, pp. 333–6, October 1946.

Bowen, J. Donald, **Teachers' Guide for English in Grade 1.** Pasay City, Philippines: Philippine Center for Language Study.

Brooks, Nelson, **Language and Language Learning: Theory and Practice.** New York: Harcourt 1960.

Buxbaum, Edith, "The Role of a Second Language in the Formation of the Ego and Superego". **Psychoanalytic Quarterly,** vol. 18, pp. 279–89, 1949.

Carroll, John B., "A Factor Analysis of Two Foreign Language Aptitude Batteries". **The Journal of General Psychology,** Vol. 59 pp. 3–19, July 1958.

Carton, Aaron Süss, "Problems of Research on Elementary School Foreign Language Instruction". **The Journal of Educational Sociology.** Vol. 34, 1961, no. 8 pp. 366–371.

Cistjakov, V. M. **Osnovy metodiki russkogo jazyka v nerusskih skolah.** Posobie dlja ucitelej, izdanie 4-e, ispr., Moskva: Ucpedgiz 1958, 464 p. Principles of the method of teaching Russian in non-Russian schools. A handbook for teachers.

Dawson, Mildred A., **Language Teaching in Grades 1 and 2.** New York: Book Company 1957.

De Sauzé, Emile B., "Continuity and Articulation in the Study of Foreign Language between Elementary and Senior High School". **French Review,** May 1955.

The Development and Evaluation of an Elementary School Foreign Languages Teaching Technique for Use by Teachers with Inadequate Knowledge of the Language Taught. Final Report. New York: Horace Greeley High School Chappaqua 1961.

Dissertacii po germanskoj i momanskoj filologii i metodike prepodavavnvija inostrannyh jazykov, zasciscennye v 1958–1960 g. **Inostrannye jazyki v skole,** N 3, 1961.
Theses on Germanic and Romance philology and the methodology of foreign language teaching, submitted between 1958 and 1960.

Dmitriev, N. K., **Cistjakov,** V. M., **Bakeeva,** N. Z., **Ocerki po metodike prepodavanija russkogo i rodnogo jazykov v tatarskoj skole.** Moskva: Ucpedgiz, 1952. 246 p.
A study of the method of teaching Russian and the mother tongue in Tartar schools.

Dottrens, Robert, **Programmes et Plans d'études dans l'enseignement primaire.** Unesco 1961.

Ellert, Ernest, "German in the Elementary Schools". **German Quarterly,** Vol. 31–32, pp. 42–47, January 1958.

Etnire, Elizabeth, "Five Years of Spanish in the Elementary Schools". **Modern Language Journal,** Vol. 42, pp. 349–351, 1958.

Frazier, Alexander, "How Concerned Are We About Foreign Language in the Elementary School?" **Educational Research Bulletin,** Vol. 49, pp. 89–92, April 1961.

Fultin, Renée J., **The Place of Foreign Languages in the Elementary School.** A report prepared for the Bureau of Curriculum Research. New York: Board of Education, 1954.

Grinder, R. E., **Otomo,** A., and **Toyota,** W., **Comparisons Between 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Grade Children in the Audio-lingual Learning of Japanese as a Second Language.** Honolulu: Dept. of Psychology, University of Hawaii 1961.

Harter, Hugh A., and **Allen,** Rupert Jr., **A First Spanish Handbook for Teachers in Elementary Schools.** Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press 1961.

Haugen, Einar, **Bilingualism in the Americas: A Bibliography and Research Guide.** American Dialect Society, Publication no. 26. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press 1956.

Heggen, W. Gregor, "German in the Third and Fourth Grade". **German Quarterly,** Vol. 31, pp. 298–303, November 1958.

Hobbs, Nicholas, "Child Development and Language Learning". **School and Society,** vol. 78 1953. no. 2012, pp. 17–21.

Hodgson, F. M., "An Experiment in Language Learning". **Modern Language Journal,** Vol. 38, pp. 107–110, September 1957.

Justman, Joseph, **Nass** Martin, "The High School Achievement of Pupils Who Were and Were Not Introduced to a Foreign Language in Elementary Schools". **Modern Language Journal,** Vol. 40, pp. 120–3, March 1956.

Kahn, Lothar, "Teaching German in the Elementary School: A Short Trial Course".**German Quarterly,** Vol. 29, pp. 25–8, January 1956.

Kern, Edith, "FLES Testing". **French Review,** Vol. 33, pp. 45–52, October 1959.

Kirch, Max, "At What Age Elementary School Language Teaching?" **Modern Language Journal,** Vol. 40, pp. 399–400, November 1956.

Kolbert, Jack, and **Golby,** Harry, **A First French Handbook for Teachers in Elementary Schools.** Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press 1958.

Kolbert, Jack, and **Goldby,** Harry, **A Second Handbook for Teachers in Elementary Schools.** Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press 1960.

Koljadenkov, M. N., **Russkij jazyk v mordowskoj skole,** Saransk 1960. 136 p. Russian in Mordovian schools.

Leopold, W. F., "A Child's Learning of Two Languages". **Georgetown University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics,** No. 7, Sept., 1954.

Lombert, Philip, "Should Parents Study Languages Too?" **Elementary School Journal,** Vol. 60, pp. 124–127, December 1959.

Looking Ahead in Foreign Languages. A report of the Production seminar and conference on the improvement of foreign language education in the elementary school. January 11–16, 1960. Sacramento: California State Department of Education 1961.

Loucks, Robert E., "Teaching Spanish Through Games in the Elementary Schools: An Experimental Study". **Hispania,** Vol. 42, pp. 246–7, May 1959.

Sister Mary Madeleine SSND. "A Demonstration Unit for FLES". **French Review,** Vol. 31, pp. 538–42, May 1958.

Miel, Alice, "Does Foreign Language Belong in Elementary School?" **Teacher's College Record,** Vol. 56, pp. 139–48, 1954.

Miroljubov, A. A. pod redakciej, **O prepodavanii inostrannyh hazykov v vos'miletnej skole.** Moskva: Akad. ped. nauk RSFSR, 1960. The teaching of foreign languages in the eight-year school.

Modern Foreign Language Teaching in the Elementary Grades. A Feasibility Study. Prepared for The School Boards of Union County by the Educational Service Bureau, Temple University, 1962.

Modern Language Association of America, "FL Program Policy". **PMLA,** Part II, September 1956.

Modern Language Association of America, Foreign Languages in the Elementary School: A Second Statement of Policy. New York 1961.

Modern Language Association of America, The Linguistic Reporter. Published bi-monthly by the MLA's Center for Applied Linguistics, 1785 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington 6, D.C. (Contains news on the applications of linguistics to language teaching and to the teaching of English as a foreign language).

Ohannessian, S., **Interim Bibliography on the Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages.** Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics of the Modern Language Association of America, 1960.

Peters, Harold C., "The Prediction of Success and Failure in Elementary Foreign Language Courses". **Journal of Applied Psychology,** Vol. 37, pp. 178–181, 1953.

Politzer, Robert, "Student Motivation and Interest in Elementary Language Courses". **Language Learning,** Vol. 5, pp. 15–22.

Ponterotto, Italo L., **A Guide for Teachers of Italian in the Elementary Schools.** New York: Vanni 1959.

The Presentation of Welsh as a Second Language. Some Suggestions. Aberystwyth: Faculty of Education, University College of Wales, Pamphlet No. 8 1961.

Price, Blanche, "Memories of French in Elementary School". **French Review,** Vol. 29, pp. 245–9, January 1956.

Purceladze, S. D., **Osnovy metodiki prepodavanija russkogo jazyka v gruzinskoj semiletnej skole** (v 3 tomah, t. I). Tbilisi: Codna 1960. 422 p. Principles of the method of teaching Russian in seven-year Georgian schools.

Richards, S. Earle, and **Appel,** Joan E., "The Effects of Written Words in Beginning Spanish". **Modern Language Journal,** Vol. 40, pp. 129–133, March 1956.

Smith, Madorah E., "A Study of Five Bilingual Children from the Same Family". **Child Development,** Vol. 2, pp. 184–7, September 1931.

Smith, Madorah E., "A Study of Language Development in Bilingual Children in Hawaii". **Psychological Bulletin,** Vol. 30, pp. 692–3, 1933.

Snyder, C. W., "Experiment in Teaching Russian in Grade 3". **Science and Society,** Vol. 86, pp. 353–354, 1958.

Some Solutions to Problems Related to the Teaching of Foreign Languages in Elementary Schools. New York: Metropolitan School Study Council 1956.

Sovetkin, S. S., **Cistjakov,** V. M., pod redakciej, **Metodika obucenija russkomu jazyku v nacal'noj nerusskoj skole.** Ucebnoe posobie dlja nac. peducilisc, Moskva, Ucpedgiz, 1960. 186 p. The method of teaching Russian in non-Russian primary schools. A textbook for use in teacher training for teachers in non-Russian schools.

Stijns, L., "Le Bilinguisme: Privilège ou servitude". **Education,** no. 72, Nov. 1961. Pp. 83–85.

Strouse, Adeline K., "The Place of Foreign Language Study in the Elementary Curriculum". **Education,** Vol. 75, pp. 513–520, 1955.

"Teaching a Second Language in the Elementary School". **Shane,** Harold, **Reddin,** Mary E., and **Gillespie,** Margaret C., **Beginning Language Arts Instruction with Children.** Columbus: Merrill 1961.

Taillion, Frère Léopold, **Le bilinguisme en éducation.** L'Ecole de Langues Vivantes de l'Université Saint-Joseph, Moncton N-B, 1961.

Thompson, Elizabeth, and **Hamalainen,** Arthur, **Foreign Language Teaching in Elementary Schools.** Washington: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1958.

Tyson, Invernia M., "Foreign Languages and the Elementary School". **Educational Forum,** Vol. 25, pp. 209–212, January 1961.